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Meddelelser om Grønland.

XXXI.







# Meddelelser om Grønland,

udgivne af

Commissionen for Ledelsen af de geologiske og geographiske  
Undersøgelser i Grønland.

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En og tredivte Hefte.

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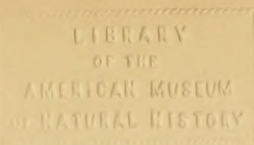
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A PHONETICAL STUDY  
OF  
THE ESKIMO LANGUAGE

BASED ON OBSERVATIONS MADE ON A  
JOURNEY IN NORTH GREENLAND 1900-1901

WITH A HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION ABOUT THE EAST ESKIMO, A COMPAR-  
ISON OF THE ESKIMO DIALECTS, A NEW COLLECTION OF GREENLANDIC  
FOLK-TALES, SONGS AND MUSIC, AND A MAP OF THE ESKIMO TERRITORIES

BY

WILLIAM THALBITZER

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## PREFACE.

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IN the spring of 1900, I proposed to the "Commission for the Direction of Geological and Geographical Explorations in Greenland" that I should like to make a scientific study of the Eskimo language there, and I offered to prepare myself for this work by a year's stay in Danish North Greenland.

The Commission consented to arrange for such an undertaking and to enable me to make the stay in Greenland that I desired, so that I could there collect material for a work about the language calculated to appear among the publications of the Commission. On account of the unusual nature of the investigations I was to pursue, I was given no special instructions. The hope was merely expressed that my travels might also possibly result in some contributions to the ethnography and traditional history of the Greenlanders (cf. the Commission's communication to me of March 17, 1900).

I was accordingly left at liberty to choose for myself which sides of the subject I should lend special attention to and what methods I should use. It is but natural that a work which is begun under these circumstances will easily become marked by the author's special training and individual interests in his department. Yet I hope that chance has not in too great a degree set its stamp upon this work.

I entered upon the undertaking not only with enthusiasm but also with the best intentions of making unbiased observation, absorbed with the desire of learning the language as well

as possible and of presenting my observations in as exact a form as possible. In how far I have succeeded in the latter will have to be tested by future experience. It was not until I came to work up my material that I fully realized how difficult it is to observe well when the object of observation is such a rapidly passing phenomenon as language, and when the instrument is as individual and subjective as the human ear.

An account of my travels and of my methods of phonetical investigation will be found in the Introduction.

The first object I set for myself was an investigation of the phonetics of the North-Greenlandic language.

After I had on my return home worked up my treatise on this subject, which I consider the chief result of my travels, I realized that I had obtained a new basis for a critical employment of the existing lists of words and specimens of language from the other Eskimo dialects in Greenland and in Canada. I therefore worked out the treatment of the Eskimo dialects which is found appended to the treatise on the phonetics of the language.

There is, however, much more yet to be done in the line of comparison of dialects. I feel confident that such a comparative study is a way of attaining a better founded understanding of this language, especially of its word-formations and its whole synthetical character. Not until the Eskimo dialects have been studied in this way will it be possible to describe and formulate the Eskimo grammar after its own principles, I mean in such a way that the inflexional suffixes with any degree of certainty can be classified on a basis of their inner, etymological connection. My original plan of appending to the phonetical treatise a presentation of the grammar and psychology of the Eskimo language I therefore postponed until later, after having realized how important it was that this work of comparison should be taken up first.

To the specially linguistic bibliography which is found in



the last part of the introduction I have added a short sketch of the Greenlanders' literature and of the present state of their intellectual culture.

Finally, on the basis of those accounts of arctic exploration that I had the time to look into, I have prepared the accompanying map showing the present and the earlier extension of the Eskimo race. It has been executed at the Royal Hydrographic Office, to whose director, Commodore G. Holm, I am much indebted for the care and interest with which he has taken charge of the work.

The collection of folk-tales and songs which I obtained in Greenland is considerable. (Yet the collections made by H. Rink in the middle of the last century far surpassed mine not only in bulk but also in value, my collection of folk-tales being rather an after-crop.) With respect to the songs that I took down, they consist partly of drum-songs, nursery rhymes etc. of older origin, perhaps from heathen times, which are easily recognized by their Eskimo melodies; partly of popular songs of modern origin set to sailor-melodies, often to the latest popular melodies from Copenhagen. Here I have only published the former of these two groups, and as far as the melodies are concerned, only a selection. — There is no doubt that all these tales and songs give us some good samples of the Eskimo's everyday language and of his way of thinking. On the whole, with the exception of some few loan-words, there is no European influence to be noticed in the spoken language of the Greenlanders, but this is only natural, since not many of them know anything about any other language but their own. Furthermore both the tales and the songs that I have written down have even been transmitted from older generations in tolerably unchanged form and, with a few exceptions, uninfluenced by European ideas. If the language in which I have given them should contain faults and inaccuracies here and there, they are incorrect reproductions of single words which may have been indistinctly pronounced,

or repeated for me in a different form from the one which would have been used in the course of ordinary conversation. But at any rate I have aimed at as faithful empirical observation and reproduction as possible.

Most of these notes and records I took down on my sledge-journeys, in the huts of the natives, sitting on the edge of the stump-bed, with no other desk but my knee to rest the paper on. The dim daylight from the window and the flame of the train-oil lamp in the hut made it just possible for the pen to find its way over the paper. At that time I could give no attention to the contents and connection of what I was hearing since I had to concentrate it all on the phonetical side of the words so that I could get an accurate reproduction of them; most of the words I repeated to myself as I wrote them down. I refrained as much as possible from stopping the narrator or the singer in order to have him repeat a word, but I often let him repeat the whole so that I could revise my record. When I noted down melodies to the songs, I used my violin, which was tuned after the tuning-fork that I always carried with me. — Thus I collected in the course of a year a considerable pile of paper filled with specimens of the Greenlandic language both in prose and poetry. In style and spirit at least, they are real Eskimo, even if there should be some few corruptions due to the narrator, or some mistakes which I have made on account of the haste in which I had to write them down.

With respect to the books which have been published in the Greenlandic language so far, I consider them in part, but only in part, fit to learn the language from. Anyone who wants to have the pure Eskimo language by itself will either be very careful in using, or altogether shun, the translations, especially when they have not been made by natives but by foreign missionaries. For the latter have generally been so impressed with the power of the language to form new expressions that they have themselves in abundant measure employed this power in

order to get expressions for new ideas. Even if the translations are correct, yet they do not represent Eskimo ways of thinking in Eskimo style of expression. I can rather recommend those articles about life in Greenland which have been contributed by natives, generally school-teachers, to the national magazine *Atuagagdliutit* (cf. Introduction p. 65). The system of orthography in this magazine is the same as the one used in the Greenlandic-Danish dictionary (published 1871).

The author of this dictionary and originator of the present orthography was the missionary S. Kleinschmidt. The advantage of his orthographical system consisted principally in the introduction of accents to indicate not only the word-stress but also in part the quantity of the sounds, moreover in the distinction drawn between *k* and *κ* (my *q*). And furthermore, in the case of many words Kleinschmidt has given a more precise form than that found in earlier authors. It is, however, necessary to have heard the language in order to understand his representation of it, which does not convey a direct impression of its phonetical character. Of course there is no doubt that Kleinschmidt knew the Greenlandic language as well as his mother tongue. Of that his grammar and his dictionary bear sufficient evidence. It would be ungrateful of me not to emphasize the great debt which I owe to his thorough treatment of the South-Greenlandic language as long as 50 years ago. I am convinced that the two above-mentioned works of his will in just as high a degree as the founder Poul Egede's works continue in the future to retain their value as linguistic monuments, that is as sources of lexical and grammatical knowledge about this language as it was at the time of each respective author. There will still be enough left to do for modern or future philologists, who will find other problems to solve and will require other means of solving them than those which were at Kleinschmidt's disposal.



Now in completing my work I cannot but feel that this strange language still invites to long continued investigation and that I have far from sounded its lowest depths. Yet I hope that the results which I publish here may be of some aid to one or another student who needs information of this kind about this very inaccessible language — until some time when there shall be still fuller and more certain information to be had.

Before concluding I should like to express my sincere gratitude to the Commission for the Direction of Geological and Geographical Explorations in Greenland for the excellent assistance which they have lent me in the accomplishment of my task and for the confidence which they have shown me throughout; likewise to the Carlsberg Fund, which has shown its interest in my undertaking by enabling me after my return from Greenland to devote all my time and energy to this work so as to complete it as soon as possible.

Furthermore it must be permitted me here to express my heartfelt thanks to my former instructors at the University of Copenhagen, Professor Vilhelm Thomsen Ph. D., Professor Harald Höffding Ph. D. and Professor Otto Jespersen Ph. D., who by their recommendations and the interest they have shown my plan have encouraged me to carry it through.

Finally I should like to give my best thanks to those who because of their special acquaintance with the language, history or conditions of Greenland have been able to furnish me with much useful information, to Dr. K. J. V. Steenstrup and Commodore G. Holm; to Professor Finnur Jónsson Ph. D. of the University of Copenhagen; to the anthropologist, Police Surgeon in Copenhagen, Søren Hansen; to the inspector of the Zoological Museum, H. Winge; to Mrs. Signe Rink; to mag. scient. C. Kruuse; to Lieutenant in the Navy G. C. Amdrup and to Mr. E. Mikkelsen-Löth (to the latter especially for many particulars for the map showing remains of earlier Eskimo settlements); to Pastor Christian Rasmussen, the parish rector in Lyngø and lector in the Greenlandic language, formerly missionary in North Greenland; to Pastor Schultz-Lorentzen, Principal of

Godthaab Seminary in South Greenland; to the colonial manager Johan Petersen and to Pastor P. Rüttel in Angmagsalik on the east coast of Greenland; to the Eskimo Pastor Tobias Mørch in Upernivik and to Pastor Andreas Hansen in South Greenland; likewise to the many other Danish officials and native Greenlanders who hospitably opened their homes to me and guided me in their arctic land and in the language of this land.

I also want to express my gratitude to Den kongelige Grønlandske Handel (The Royal Greenland Trading Department), on whose ships I sailed to and from the distant land. The present director-in-chief, Mr. Ryberg, is known as the author of a Danish-Greenlandic parlour especially intended for the officials sent to Greenland by the Royal Greenland Trading Department.

The work has been translated into English by Mrs. Sophia Bertelsen, M. A.

Copenhagen in August 1904.

*W. Th.*





# INTRODUCTION.



## I.

Journey. Method of Investigation. Method of spelling.

---

1. **My journey.** I sailed from Copenhagen May 20, 1900 on the brig *Tjalfe* belonging to the Royal Greenland Trading Department, and arrived, after a six weeks' voyage, at the colony of *Jakobshavn* in North Greenland (*Disko Bay*).

During my daily intercourse with the Greenlanders in this colony, I began to learn to speak Greenlandic, thus supplementing by the study of the living language that insight into it which I had hitherto only been able to get through books\*). I frequently moved out to the Greenlanders to the north and to the south, and lived with them a few weeks at the time. At about Christmas time, while staying in the house of the colonial manager, *Poul Müller*\*\*), I prepared the lists, on the basis of which I later collected specimens of the phonetical elements of the language in those parts of Greenland which I visited.

About the middle of January 1901, as soon as the darkest period of the long winter-night was past, and the ice lay along

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\*) Yet I had already several times had the opportunity of hearing Greenlandic before my departure from Copenhagen, having here met the South Greenlander *Henrik Lund*, who was on his way, via Copenhagen, to the east coast, where he was to take up his work as "kateket".

\*\*) Among my various hosts in Greenland, I feel especially grateful toward this Færoic man, who received me with the greatest hospitality on my arrival in the land and whose guest I was for about half a year. The year after my return from Greenland I received the sad news of his death.



the coasts, I left Jakobshavn to begin a sledge-journey to different parts of inhabited North Greenland. My object on this journey was to gather new impressions of the language and folklore of the people and abundant material for a study of both. I first traveled along the coast of Disko Bay to Egedesminde, and from there 68 miles farther south to the Eskimo settlements around the *Aulâtsivik* Fjord, where the Greenlanders are supposed to have been very little influenced by civilization. Here they still use gut for their window-panes (not glass), and drift timber for the beams and wood-work of their houses; they have no wooden flooring, the earth remaining bare, and all cooking, heating and lighting is accomplished by means of their potstone lamps. After a few weeks' stay with these primitive but friendly people, I continued my journey toward the north and returned to Jakobshavn in the end of February.

It was not long before I again departed from here and traveled farther north on my sledge across the Nûgsuak Peninsula to the colony of Umanak (*Oommannaq*), which lies on a little island in the middle of a big fjord. With this as my starting-point I traveled over the whole district in the course of the spring, being able to traverse the fjord-ice on my sledge, and thus get around to all the Eskimo settlements about the coasts of the fjord.

When the ice broke up in the month of June 1901, and the ships from Denmark arrived, I traveled north on board the bark Thorvaldsen as far as the trading-place Pröven, and thence by long-boat to the northernmost Danish colony Upernivik (*Upernavik*). On the way home, we touched at Godhavn. After an eight weeks' stormy voyage, I arrived in Copenhagen October 7, 1901.

Of the 400 days which I spent in Greenland, I lived for 142 days with natives in the Eskimo settlements, and the rest of the time in the Danish colonies. But I allowed no day to pass without being in company with natives several hours.

In terms of latitude, my travels in Greenland extended from  $68^{\circ} 13'$  to  $72^{\circ} 47'$  N. lat. Between January 15 and March 17, I traveled 920 miles by sledge, accompanied by various native guides.

A survey of the chief points on my journey through North Greenland is given on p. 6.

**2. My Method of Investigation.** The phonetical lists mentioned above, which I had with me on my travels, and on which I noted down the results of my direct investigations, deserve closer attention, since they have been of the greatest importance to me in the determination and classification of the phonetical elements of the spoken language. They are so arranged that for each of the sound-elements in the language, there is a special list headed with the symbol of the sound under consideration. Each list consists of a series of such words of the language as I anticipated would be useful for the observation of that particular sound. This is the way in which I used them. In every place where I came for the purpose of closer investigation of the language spoken there, I hired a Greenlander to pronounce and repeat again and again for me those words of the lists which I asked him to say. I thus got an opportunity of observing the parts of his mouth while he pronounced the various sounds of which the word was composed. If the sound which I especially desired to investigate happened to be produced by means of a position of the organs of the mouth which could not be directly observed when it was naturally taken, I had to let him hold his mouth wide enough open for the light to penetrate into it and the movement of the tongue to be visible. In order not to change the nature of the sound by a too forced position of the jaws I tried to make my observations with the least possible opening of the mouth. Only in some few cases, for instance in the articulation of *q*, it seemed to make no difference whether the angle of the jaws was big or little. In such cases, in order to illustrate for the Green-

(Those place-names which are spelled according to the orthography adopted in «Meddelelser om Grönland» are printed with the usual upright letters; those printed with italics are phonetically spelled.

The abbreviations of names used in this work are given here.

The dates give the days of my arrival and departure.)

	1900—1901	N. lat.
<i>Jkh.</i> . . Colony of Jakobshavn ( <i>Ilulissät</i> ) . . .	June 30—Aug. 17 . . .	69° 13'
<i>Rdb.</i> . . Trading-place Rodebay ( <i>Oqaṭṭut</i> ) . . .	Aug. 17—Aug. 30 . . .	69° 20'
Colony of Jakobshavn		
<i>Ki.</i> . . . Eskimo settlement Kingigtok ( <i>Kiṛṛittoq</i> ) . . .	Sept. 7—Sept. 20 . . .	69° 14'
Colony of Jakobshavn		
Trading-place Rodebay . . . . .		
	Nov. 17—Nov. 24	
Colony of Jakobshavn		
<i>Ka.</i> . . . Trading-place Kangai- tsiak ( <i>Kaṛaṭtsiaq</i> )	sledge-journey Jan. 15—Jan. 19 . . .	68° 18'
<i>Arg.</i> . . Eskimo settlement <i>Arḡṛṭtoq</i> . . . . .	Jan. 22—Jan. 30 . . .	68° 13'
<i>Nqs.</i> . . Eskimo settlement <i>Niaḡornarsuk</i> . .	Jan. 30—Feb. 7 . . . . .	68° 15'
<i>Egd.</i> . . Colony of Egedesminde ( <i>Ausiaṭ</i> ) . .	Feb. 10—Feb. 20 . . . . .	68° 42'
Egedesminde		
sledge-journey		
<i>Eq.</i> . . . Eskimo settlement <i>Eḡe</i>	via Christians- haab (Chr.) and Claushavn (Cl.)	Feb. 28—March 5
Colony of Jakobshavn		
<i>Omnq.</i> . Colony of Umanak ( <i>Oommannaq</i> )	sledge-journey March 5—March 17	
<i>Nqt.</i> . . Trading-place Niakornat ( <i>Niaḡornät</i> ) . . . . .		70° 47'
<i>Nus.</i> . . Trading-place Nūḡsuak ( <i>Nūssuaḡ</i> ) . . .	March 20—March 26	70° 40'
<i>Uk.</i> . . . Trading-place Uvkusigssat ( <i>Ukkusi-</i> <i>sät</i> ) . . . . .	March 26—April 3 . .	71° 2'
<i>Il.</i> . . . . Trading-place Igdlorsuit ( <i>Ilḡorsuīt</i> )	April 3—April 13 . . .	71° 15'
<i>Up. N.</i> . . . . . via Upernivik Nūa ( <i>Nūa</i> ) . . . . .		71° 10'
	to Colony of Umanak ( <i>Oommannaq</i> ) . .	April 14—July 24 . . . 70° 40'
Eskimo settlements in Umanak Fjord: <i>Saṛḡut</i> ( <i>Sa.</i> ), <i>Tūḡḡitalik</i> ( <i>Tūḡ.</i> ), <i>Itiḡḡarsuk</i> ( <i>Iti.</i> ), <i>Sūḡḡiarsuīt</i> ( <i>Sūḡ.</i> ), <i>Oommannūṭtsiaq</i> ( <i>Omnt.</i> ), <i>Ikerasak</i> ( <i>Ike.</i> ), <i>Qarajaḡ</i> ( <i>Qarj.</i> ), <i>Serḡiarsuīt</i> ( <i>Serḡ.</i> ), <i>Qaṛsut</i> ( <i>Qars.</i> ), <i>Qeḡertāt</i> ( <i>Qḡt.</i> ), <i>Appa</i> ( <i>Ap.</i> ), <i>Auppilāttoḡ</i> ( <i>Aup.</i> ) etc.		
<i>Prö.</i> . . Trading-place Pröven ( <i>Kaṛersuāttsiaq</i> )	Aug. 1 . . . . .	72° 23'
<i>Up.</i> . . . Colony of Upernivik ( <i>Upernavik</i> ) . .	Aug. 2—Aug. 11 . . . . .	72° 47'
<i>Gdh.</i> . . Trading-place Godhavn . . . . .	Aug. 18—Aug. 24 . . .	69° 14'

Furthermore I have visited in passing the following trading-places and Eskimo settlements: Akugdlit (*Ak. Akūḡḡet*), Ikamiut (*Ika.*), both between Christianshaab and Egedesminde, Manermiut (*Man.*), *Qeḡertarsuaṛtsiaq* (*Qḡts.*), *Qipṛiḡasog* (*Qip.*), south of Egedesminde, Pākitsok (*Pa. Paḡḡṭtoḡ*), Atā (*At.*), Kekertak (*Qḡḡ. Qeḡertaḡ.*), north of Jakobshavn in Disko Bay.





lander what I wanted him to do, I used, especially in the beginning, a "stretcher" in the shape of a little bone peg, which was placed between the upper and lower front teeth in order to support the jaws, and to keep them at the same distance from each other while the word was pronounced.

Through these observations of the sounds of the language, I have in each single case been enabled to determine the manner of articulation, especially as far as the consonants are concerned, and immediately to indicate it alphabetically on the corresponding list along side of the key-word employed. — In addition to the lists which I used for determining the vowels and consonants of the language, I had other lists where I wrote down my observations with respect to quantity and stress in Greenlandic, together with some few rhythmical and musical peculiarities.

My experiments in connection with the lists were made with 20 Greenlanders from the various places which I visited. I here mention them all in the order from north to south:

Upernavik District: I. Margrete Petersen, née Lynge, born in *Upernavik* 1833, daughter of a Greenlander from *Kiŕittoq*, north of *Upernavik*, married to the following II. Andreas Petersen, born in *Upernavik* 1833. III. Robert Thomassen, *Upernavik*, born 1855. IV. Lars Christiansen, *Prøven*, born about 1883.

*Oommannaq* District: V. Peter Uthesen (*Pitakūwssaq*), Igdlorsuit (or *Quŕŕulertusoq*), born 1869. VI. Pele Sakkæusen (*Pr-le-kæwssaq*), Igdlorsuit, born 1870. VII. Emanuel Samuelsen, Cape Upernivik by Igdlorsuit, born 1870. VIII. Peter Isaksen, *Ukkusissūt*, born 1857 (in *Qegertūt*). IX. Karl Broberg, *Qarajaq*, born 1861. X. Pavia Samuelsen (*Paviakūwssaq*), *Sagdliaŕusut*, born 1868. XI. Lars Frederiksen, *Oommannaq*, born 1878. XII. Juanna Leibhardt, *Oommannaq*, born 1862. XIII. Jakob Sigurdsson (Te'), *Ser-miarsuit*, born 1828.

Jakobshavn District: XIV. Pele Bröndlund, Rodebay, born 1876. XV. Karl Olrik, Rodebay, born 1850. XVI. Pavia Cortzen, Jakobshavn, born about 1876. XVII. Johannes Jensen, Jakobshavn, born about 1850.

Egedesminde District: XVIII. Porta Svendsen, Egedesminde, born 1878. XIX. Jakob Inugsuttoq, *Arqittoq*, born about 1876. XX. Ole Ugpernangittoq, *Niaqornarsuk*, born about 1885 in *Kaq'attiaq*.

That which I shall give from my phonetical lists in the following pages can thus be considered as the empirical results of my investigations with respect to the sound-elements of the language. The *v*-list will be given in its entirety as an illustration of how my lists were arranged and used (§ 11). As for the other lists, I generally give only the average result of my observations for each word; in exceptional cases, the Roman numerals are used to indicate the individuals in whose mouths I observed the articulation.

For every key-word cited from the lists, I give 1) a phonetical transcription, 2) its chief meaning, 3) alphabetical indications of the articulation of the sound under consideration according to O. Jespersen's system\*). — For my investigations of the accent of the language, the reader is referred to the special section on this subject (§ 21—23).

### 3. My own and other methods of spelling in Greenlandic.

The forms of the words as they occur in ordinary conversation, I have been able to get hold of especially in those fragments of the language which I took down in my small note-books, and in the folk-tales and songs which I wrote down as the natives told them. In all that I took down, I exerted myself to reproduce what I had heard with as great phonetical accuracy as possible, without consideration for any earlier system of orthography. In order to make sure of what I had heard, I always sought to have it repeated whenever possible. My purpose has always been first and foremost to give a picture of what I myself have observed and comprehended; my second-hand

\*) O. Jespersen: The Articulations of Speech Sounds. Marburg 1889. — Fonetik. København 1897—1899. Lehrbuch der Phonetik. 1903.

observations are but few, and I have tried to use only such sources as there is reason to believe are reliable.

It is by no means surprising to meet with a complete confusion of various orthographical systems in those descriptions of the Eskimo language which have hitherto been published. For the authors have belonged to different nations, and each one has of course started out from his own language, and made his own native pronunciation and orthography the basis of his auricular impression and his manner of spelling this strange literatureless language. It is natural that each one as far as possible operates with the alphabetical characters of his own language, and only few of them seem to realize how purely accidental it is if these happen to correspond to the sounds of the new language, and how improbable it is that the sound-systems of the two languages will in any way cover each other. Danish and German authors have described the dialects in Greenland and in Labrador; French, English and Russian authors have described the western dialects. They are men who themselves have traveled through Eskimo territory, often men who have made long stays among the natives, but they have always lacked scientific linguistic training and too often also natural linguistic talent. The specimens of the language given in their works are therefore spelled according to the most varied principles. For a philologist it is not uninteresting to compare the many different reproductions of the same word in these different works, (among other reasons because they give an insight into the national differences in the impressions conveyed by the common alphabetical symbols); general comparisons between the stocks of words and between the meanings of words in the different dialects may no doubt be easily undertaken; but a scientific comparison with a view to clearing up such phonetical differentiations as may indicate something of the relations between the Eskimo dialects and of the history of the language can only be undertaken with great difficulty and



uncertainty on the basis of these scattered, unmethodically reproduced specimens of the language.

Nevertheless the explorers of the inhabited regions in the north deserve our gratitude for having taken down specimens of the native language in the parts which they visited, for many of these specimens are really of great interest for the comparison of the dialects. We must only remember, when we want to use them for this purpose that many accidental influences may have been brought to bear on the forms in which the words have been communicated to us. In most cases it is almost a matter of chance for the explorer's untrained ear if he takes note of the phonetical differences between the dialects. Now he takes down the language from the mouth of the native, now from the mouth of the interpreter. The dialectal characteristics are especially apt to be effaced through the intervention of interpreters, who as a rule report what they hear of the strange dialect with the accent peculiar to their own idiom. Everything in the strange dialect is thus leveled down to the known dialect.

Therefore if we take the trouble to study the traveler's specimens of the language which he has heard, we must always take into account not only his nationality, but also his own and his interpreters' inaccuracies, misunderstandings and inconsistencies. If he was previously acquainted with any of the known dialects from books, for instance South Greenlandic, the new dialect which he hears will undoubtedly be colored for him by the dialect which he knew before, and he will of course use the orthography of the dialect he knows for reproducing the new one. It will be most convenient for him to overlook the small differences of dialect.

But even if he should wish to note down these differences as the missionary does, yet it is not everyone that simply because he wants to will be able to practise that fine art of

accurately distinguishing the sounds of a language and of appreciating the finest shades of articulation. It is not enough to draw up a table of the sound-symbols or letters of the alphabet used; the meaning of these symbols, that is to say, the articulation of each sound must be accurately described. But in order to give such a description, it is necessary, first, to observe correctly, and secondly, to describe competently.

Well, it is the business of the scientific worker to be careful, and I have only ventured these remarks in order to justify the use which I in spite of everything have made of the specimens of the language given by travelers and the descriptions of the language written by missionaries. The paragraphs in which I especially treat the Eskimo dialects will show in how far I have dared to make use of these sources and what conclusions I could draw from them. I have felt in regard to them in about the same way — *mutatis mutandis* — as the historical philologist feels in regard to the alphabetical symbols in the old inscription which he is interpreting. On account of typographical difficulties, I have not always been able to retain throughout the orthography used by the foreign author; in such cases, I have substituted for his symbols those of my own which I considered most adequate.

If I have thus been compelled to use the severest kind of criticism with respect to the works of others on this subject, I realize that the value of my own work will depend upon whether I have been equally critical with respect to it. I too in examining this language, which only a few years ago was unknown to me, have had to proceed from something known to something new and have had to see the latter in the light of the former. What mistakes and inaccuracies I may have been guilty of, future investigations of the subject will have to decide. To facts I willingly submit; but I think I have been ahead of previous investigators of this language in my theoretical knowledge of the formation of speech-sounds in general and in my

scientific training in that group of the European languages to which my mother tongue belongs.

In this work, I have tried to counteract all uncertainty and inaccuracy by aiming to give an exact description of the sounds of the language as I heard them, together with a consistent system of phonetical transcription. My sound-symbols were not unchangeably established all at once as if by manifest, but they were time and again altered and adjusted under the influence of my direct phonetical experiments in Greenland. They have been chosen with especial consideration for those sound-symbols which are gradually winning an established place in phonetical science. I felt convinced that only by proceeding in accordance with that scientific tradition which has raised the science of phonetics to the place which it occupies today could I expect to make this work be of any importance for students of general comparative philology. Of course it was sometimes necessary for me to find a (new) particular symbol for a new sound of constant occurrence which I wished to isolate from the other better known sounds; at other times again I had begun by using an unusual symbol and ended by changing it to a more usual one, when I came to realize that the sound was after all nearly related to a known sound in a known language. Modern phonetical science, as is well known, chooses its sound-symbols as far as possible in agreement with the current or average usage of the symbols in the chief European languages (with the exception of Bell's Visible Speech). I have of course followed this principle in reproducing the Eskimo speech-sounds; I have also, like the phoneticians, taken the liberty of adopting some few symbols from other languages without regard for their peculiar use in the languages from which they are taken. I therefore want to caution here against any misunderstanding of the Greek letters which I have employed. The fact that I have used them does not imply that there is any special resemblance between the Eskimo and the Greek languages;  $\lambda$  and  $\nu$  (just

like the common phonetical symbol  $\eta$ ) etc. are merely outer symbols, merely disguises, and the reader must turn to the description of the sounds in order to learn what peculiarities in the Eskimo language are expressed by them.

I hope that the system of symbols which I have used, far from hindering, rather will further the absorption of this group of languages into the large reservations of ready material for scientific research.

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## II.

### Historical data about the East Eskimo.

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Our knowledge about the early history of the Eskimo people and their language is not great, although they inhabit that part of the new world about which we have the earliest historical accounts; I have especially in mind the old Icelandic sagas and other works of Scandinavian historians. The historians of our own time and of the past century have with ever sharper and clearer judgment tried to determine the relations between the various old sagas, their sources, and their dating, until they have gradually succeeded in distinguishing between the authentic and the more incredible elements, and have thereby made it possible for us to use them in establishing historical data. The Eskimo themselves have next to nothing in the way of historical traditions and no chronology whatever. When they say that this or that event happened in olden days (*itsaq*), they may just as well be referring to the times of their grandparents and their great grandparents as to the times of their ancestors who lived 1000 years ago. We can rather obtain certain information about the earlier homes and wanderings of this people through the accounts of the first discoverers than through the Eskimo people's own traditions. I shall here limit myself to giving a survey of the information which has been obtained in earlier and later times about the Eskimo inhabitants of the coast of Davis Strait, and of those traces of the earliest communication with them which were preserved in traditions

on both sides of the Atlantic, even after the connection between the two worlds for a time had been broken off.

In about the year 1133, the Icelandic priest named Ari Þorgilsson enn fróði wrote the first little book about Iceland, which is still in existence and which contains among other things the earliest account of the discovery and settlement of Greenland\*). We know that Ari's authority for this account of Greenland was his uncle Þorkell Gellisson, whose information in turn goes back to one of the participants in the first expedition to Greenland. This expedition took place in 985. With respect to this matter, we read in *Islendingabók*, chapter 6:

*"The land which is called Greenland was discovered and settled from Iceland. Eiríkr the Red was the name of a man from Breiðifjörð, who traveled thither and took possession of land in that locality which is since then called Eiríksfjörð. He gave the land a name and called it Greenland, and said that it would give people a desire to go there if the land had a good name. They found there, both in the eastern and western parts of the land, traces of human habitations and fragments of (skin-?)boats and stone implements, which indicates that the same kind of people has wandered there as settled Vineland, a people whom the Greenlanders call Skrælings. He began to settle the land 14 or 15 winters before Christianity was introduced here in Iceland, according to what was related to Þorkell Gellisson in Greenland by a man who had followed Eiríkr the Red thither."*

That the *Skrælings* in Greenland are identical with the ancestors of the present Greenlandic Eskimo inhabitants may

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\*) F. Jónsson: "Den oldnorske og oldislandske literaturs historie". Copenhagen 1898, vol. II, p. 354 ff. — Ari's *Islendingabók*, ed. F. Jónsson, Copenhagen 1887.

be considered as certain. If Ari's information is reliable — and there is no reason to question it — there were already before the year 1000 A. D. Eskimo wanderers in the southern part of Greenland, but they did not settle down there. They must have preferred regions farther north, if they have not limited themselves to a visit in Greenland. There is at all events reason to suppose that the Eskimo people in Greenland at that time consisted merely of some small hordes, which only shortly before had come to the land, and who led a roaming life along the northernmost coasts.

During the next few centuries after the year 1000, the Icelanders settled the southern part of the west coast, where numerous ruins around the fjords at the colonies Julianehaab (Østerbygd) and Godthaab (Vesterbygd) still bear evidence of the old Norse colonization\*). From here proceeded the discovery of America. The first place where the Norsemen saw the Skrælings themselves was not on the coasts of Greenland, but on the coasts of the New World.

Already in the year 999, Leif, the son of Erik the Red, had reached America, about 500 years before Columbus. The discovery was quite accidental, since Leif was on his way from Norway to Greenland, when a storm drove him over to unknown lands in the west, where he found „self-sown wheat-fields and grape-vines growing”. The returning discoverers' accounts of these new regions, whose fame soon spread throughout the North, occasioned the big expedition which in 1003 started out from Vesterbygden in Greenland under the leadership of Thorfinn Karlsefni for the purpose of colonizing “Vineland”, as the Norsemen called the southernmost part of the newly discovered land\*\*).

\*) F. Jónsson: “Grönlands gamle topografi efter kilderne. Østerbygden og Vesterbygden”. Meddelelser, Vol. 20 (1899). — K. J. V. Steenstrup: “Om Østerbygden”. Meddelelser, Vol. 9 (1889).

\*\*) Our chief source of information with respect to the Vineland expedition is Eireks saga rauða, Erik the Red's saga, which we have in two

There were three ships in all with 140 men. Their stay in America lasted three years. For various reasons, they did not succeed in founding a colony over there, perhaps especially because the aggressive attitude of the natives made the conditions too uncertain for them. After the plans for colonization had been given up, they returned to Greenland, bringing with them from Markland two Skræling children whom they had taken captive. "They taught them [the Icelandic] language and baptized them", says the saga.

The accounts of Vineland, Markland, and Helluland which are preserved in the sagas are in the main to be traced back to the participants in Thorfinn's expedition who returned home. If there have been later expeditions to these lands from Greenland or Iceland, we have at all events no certain historical accounts of them. The designation Skrælings was probably first used as a general name applied to the native population found on the coasts of Markland and Vineland. With respect to the situation of these lands, the lately deceased Norwegian historian, G. Storm, has come to the result that Vineland corresponds to the present Nova Scotia together with Cape Breton Island, Markland (i. e. the woodland) to Newfoundland, Helluland to Labrador or possibly the northernmost part of Newfoundland \*).

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old Icelandic manuscripts in the University Library in Copenhagen: 1) Hauksbok (AM 544) written by Haukr Erlendsson about 1320, ed. by Det kgl. nordiske Oldskriftselskab, Copenhagen 1892—1896, 2) MS. AM 557, 4<sup>to</sup> dating from the 15<sup>th</sup> C., whose original must have been written before 1300. — The accounts contained in Flateyrbok and in the so-called Grœnlendinga þáttir are not to be depended upon. — Eiríks Saga Rauða, ed. by G. Storm, Copenhagen, 1891.

\*] Gustav Storm: "Studier over Vinlandsrejserne, Vinlands geografi og ethnografi." Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, 2<sup>nd</sup> vol., 1889. — A. M. Reeves: "The Finding of Wineland the Good". London 1890. Jos. Fischer: "Die Entdeckungen der Normannen in Amerika". Freiburg 1902. "The Discoveries of the Norsemen in America". London 1903. — The latitude of Vineland has been calculated on the basis of the saga's statements by the astronomers Geelmuyden and Phythian (America), who



With respect to the Skrælings in these lands, Storm has tried to prove that they were not Eskimo, but Indian tribes that the old discoverers came across. His arguments, however, do not seem to me to be quite convincing, especially because the information given by the sagas about these natives is too scanty and too general to serve as a certain basis for any identification whatever. They might have been Eskimo as well as Indians; if the latter, then a tribe not known at present, which used skin-boats for rowing out on the open sea. For it is scarcely as insignificant a feature as Storm would make it out to be, when it is related in the saga that these Skrælings used skin-boats (*huðkeipar*), just as at present the Eskimo and no other people do. This point is too characteristic to be accidental or erroneous. There is really most reason to assume that the Eskimo are meant, especially since it seems certain that they have formerly dwelt farther south on the eastern coast of America than they do now. Now they are not found south of 47° N. lat. (Hamilton Inlet in Labrador)\*).

Read, for instance, Baron de Lahontan, the emigrant's description of his travels, dating from about the year 1700, where he tells about the Eskimo in Canada, and you will already find them farther south on the map. I shall quote a part of this book, which gives a good idea of the way in which the French settlers looked upon the wild natives\*\*):

*De l'autre côté du Fleuve (Saint Laurent) on voit la grande terre de Labrador ou des Eskimaux, qui sont des Peuples si féroces qu'on n'a jamais pu les humaniser . . . . . Les Danois sont les premiers qui l'ont découverte; elle est*

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both independently of each other came to the result 49° N. lat. as the extreme northern limit to which the *eykt* and *dagmál*-positions could refer (cf. Fischer u. s. p. 100).

\*) cf. F. Russel and H. M. Huxley: "A Comparative Study of the Physical Structure of the Labrador Eskimos and the New England Indians" (Proc. Amer. Assoc. for the Adv. of Science, Vol. 48, 1899).

\*\*) Baron de Lahontan: "Mémoires de l'Amérique septentrionale". 1703. Vol. II, p. 9 ff.

remplie de Ports, de Havres & de Bayes, où les Barques de Quebec ont accoutumé d'aller faire la troque de peaux de Loups marins durant l'Été avec ces Sauvages. Voici comment elle ce fait, dès que ces Barques ont mouillé l'ancre, ces Démon viennent à bord dans de petits Canots de peaux de Loups marins cousus ensemble, qui sont faits à peu près comme des navettes de tisseran, au milieu desquels on voit un trou en forme de celui d'une bourse où ils se renferment assis sur les talons avec des cordes. Ils rament de cette manière avec des petites palètes, tantôt à droit & tantôt à gauche, sans pancher le corps, crainte de renverser . . . . . Ils est constant qu'ils font plus de trente mille Combattants mais si lâches & si poltrons que cinq cens Clistinos de la Baye de Hudson ont accoutumé d'en battre cinq ou six mille. Leur Pais est grand, car il s'étend depuis la Côte qui est vis à vis des Isles de Mingan, jusques au Détroit de Hudson. Ils passent tous les jours à l'Isle de Terre-Neuve par le Détroit de Bellisle qui n'a que sept lieues de traverse, & s'ils ne viennent pas jusqu'à Plaisance, c'est qu'ils craignent d'y trouver d'autres Sauvages.

Isles de Mingan is the name of some small islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence between Anticosti Island and the northern shore. Here — at 50° N. lat. — was the southern limit for the Eskimo in the year 1700. To the west, lived the Papinaki Indians of the Algonkin Tribe. That the Eskimo frequently made expeditions to Newfoundland we also know from the first missionaries who came to Labrador (1764)\*).

There are traces which point perhaps still farther south. In the earlier home of the Micmac Indians in New Brunswick, south of the St. Lawrence River, lies a little river at 46° 40' N. lat. called Nipisiguit\*\*), a name which to a striking degree

\*) D. Crantz: Historie von Grönland (1770) Vol. III, p. 313: "Ich habe auf der Nordost-Huk von Terre Neuve, wo sie [the Eskimos] doch nur des Handelns oder Stehlens halber von Labrador herüber kommen, ungefähr 200 gesehen" (cf. pp. 297—298, 318).

\*\*) Thus on a map of Canada, signed Echelles 1755, in the Royal Library of Copenhagen, Atlas Americanæ Tom. LI, no. 41. — Likewise in the synoptic map in compte rendu du Congrès International des Americanistes, Copenhagen 1883. — On a map signed Carte du Canada etc. par Guillaume de l'Isle (Amsterdam). Atlas Americanæ Tom. LI, no. 40, Labrador is designated as terre des Eskimeaux, and in the south-western part of Newfoundland stands "Grands Eskimeaux".

resembles the Greenlandic place-name *Nepisät\**), which signifies "the wolf fish" (Nipisiguit = the small wolf fish?). — Also such a place-name as Tadoussak\*\*) west of the Papinaki's territory looks very Eskimoic. They may be Eskimo names adopted by the Indians who came later, and which thus testify to the fact that the territory of the Eskimo in earlier times stretched farther south (and west) than it does now.

Of more curiosity than historical value is the tradition about the four words of the Skræling language which the captive Skræling children taught the old Norse sailors. Such foreign words which are handed down from mouth to mouth through long periods of time cannot possibly avoid becoming strongly corrupted. Storm thought he was able to show a resemblance between them and some few insignificant remains which have been preserved of an Indian language formerly spoken in Newfoundland (the Beothuks belonging to the Micmac Tribe of Indians). But it is daring to build any argument on such unsafe ground. It would be quite a different matter if the words handed down reminded us of a language which is now spoken and well-known, as for instance the Eskimo language. But on the other hand, the reasons for assuming them to be Eskimo are so slight that they can scarcely be taken into consideration. I can only state that all in all there is no reason why the Skræling words in question should not have been Eskimo\*\*\*).

\*) In Poul Egede's: "Efterretninger om Grönland" (Journal 1721—1788): Nippiset, Nepisene (pp. 25, 180, 229).

\*\*) Lahontan, v. s. Vol. II, Carte generale.

\*\*\*) The words occur with the following variants in the old manuscripts: the name of the children's mother Vætilldi (Væthildi, Vetthildi, Veihildi, Veinhildi), the name of their father: Uvæge (Vægi, Ægi, Ovægi, Ovæe) the names of their "kings": Avaldamon (Avalldumon, Avalldainā, Avalldania) and Vallididida (Avaldidida), cf. "Grönlands historiske Mindesmærker" Vol. I, p. 437. In the Eskimo language, *uva* means that there! (something pointed at with the finger or indicated with the eye), *uve*, husband, *ava*, north, the suffix *-miut* or *-miun*, inhabitants of a

Thus there is neither linguistically, geographically nor historically any objection to be urged against the supposition that the *Skrælings*, whom the old Icelanders in the saga claim to have seen on the coasts of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia about the year 1000, really were Eskimo.

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When did the Norsemen first come across the Eskimo in Greenland?

In "*Speculum regale*", which otherwise carefully and at length describes the curiosities of Greenland, there is not the slightest indication of the existence of *Skrælings*. This work was written about 1250 \*).

But not long after this we have the first account of how fresh traces of *Skrælings* had been found in the north of Greenland. This is the account given by the Icelandic "*lögmaðr*" Haukr Erlendsson, who in the year 1320 collected and copied historical documents referring to Iceland and Norway \*\*). His work (*Hauksbók*) contained a letter \*\*\*), where it was indirectly stated that the Norse Greenlanders were accustomed to start out on long expeditions toward the north from their colonies in South Greenland. This is confirmed by some extant fragments of a couple of sagas which are otherwise lost. They tell us that all the *stórbændr* (chief landowners) in Greenland owned big ships which had been built to be sent to the northern

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place, *-mut* or *-mun*: to, toward. There are elements in the four *Skræling* words which remind us of these Eskimo words.

\*) F. Jónsson. "*Den oldnorske og oldislandske litteraturs historie*" (1898), Vol. II, p. 995.

\*\*) Ibid. Vol. II, p. 594.

\*\*\*) *Hauksbók*, ed. Copenhagen 1892—96, p. 500. — *Grönlands historiske Mindesmærker*, Vol. III, pp. 239 ff. — *Antiquitates Americanæ*, Hafniæ 1837, pp. 269—276. The letter is preserved in only one copy made by the Icclander Björn Jónsson (1574—1656).



settlements (Norðrseta) for hunting and fishing; they had huts up north, partly in Greipar and partly in Króksfjarðarheiði (Kroks Fjord's Heath); up there they got train-oil, for the sealing was better there than in South Greenland; melted seal-fat was poured into the skin-boats and further prepared; drift timber came in great quantities from the bays of Markland\*). I shall give the letter in an English rendering:

*"This account wrote the priest Haldór from Greenland to the former Greenlandic priest Arnaldr, who had then become king Magnus Hakonson's court-priest on board the knar (large ship), on which Bishop Olafr traveled to Greenland. That summer when the priest Arnald left Greenland and they suffered shipwreck at Hitarnes on the (western\*\*) coast of Iceland, there were found out in the sea some pieces of timber which had been hewn with small hatchets or adzes, and among them one in which there sat tooth-wedges and bone-wedges. This summer there also came people from Norðrseta, who had traveled farther north than there had hitherto been any account of. They found no indications that Skrælings had stayed there, except at Króksfjarðarheiði, and people are of the opinion that it must be the shortest way for them (the Skrælings) to go, no matter where they come from. Thereupon the priests sent a ship toward the north, in order to have investigations made with regard to conditions north of the most distant region which they had yet visited; but they sailed away from Króksfjarðarheiði, until they lost sight of the coast. Then there came a south wind against them together with darkness, and they had to let the ship drift with the wind; but when the storm had passed and it became light again, they saw many islands and all kinds of game, both seals and whales and a large number of bears. They came right into the bay (hafsbotninn), and then they*

\*) Grönl. hist. Mindesmærker Vol. III, pp. 243—244.

\*\*) K. Kaalund: Historisk-topografisk Beskrivelse af Island (Kbh. 1879—1882) vol. I, p. 401.

lost sight of the whole land, both the southern stretch of coast and the glaciers; but south of them there were also glaciers as far as they could see. There they found some indications that the Skrälings had formerly stayed in these places; but on account of the bears, they could not go ashore. Then they sailed back in three days, and there [i.e. in the place where they came] they found some remains after the Skrälings, when they came to some islands south of Snæfjall. After that they sailed south to Króksfjarðarheiði, a good day's rowing, Jakobsmassday; it froze there then at nights, but the sun shone both night and day, and it was no higher when it was in the south than that, when a man laid himself crosswise in a six-oared boat, stretched out against the railing, then the shadow of the railing which was nearest to the sun fell on his face; but at midnight it was as high as it is at home in the colony, when it is in the north-west. Then they traveled home to Garðar".

That summer when the Norse explorers came home from regions farther north than had previously been known can be exactly dated, because we are told that it happened about the same time as the shipwreck at Hitarnes, and this is known to have occurred in the year 1266\*). The Skrälings themselves had not been seen; but the manner in which they are spoken about throughout the whole letter indicates that the Norsemen had the impression that they were in the vicinity of them. Perhaps the expedition mentioned in the letter, which was sent out to the northernmost regions by Greenlandic priests, was partly occasioned by fear of the Skrälings, or by a desire to become more closely acquainted with their places of habitation.

Where are *Króksfjarðarheiði* and *Snæfjall*? — The first of these, if it is not named after a man, must suggest a fjord with a remarkable bend (*krókr*), surrounded by desolate highlands

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\*) The Icelfander Björn Jónsson's Annals of Greenland, in Grönl. hist. Mindesmærker, Vol. I, p. 83 ff., III, p. 6 ff.

(*heidi*); the second suggests a conspicuous mountain with eternal snow, north of this fjord. The distance between them is designated as a day's rowing. There is every reason to believe that this *Norðrseta* (= northern settlement), where the Norsemen of South Greenland had erected summer dwellings, and which they visited every summer for the sake of the good sealing, was situated on the Greenland side, and not on the west side of Davis Strait, where there is always dangerous and difficult sailing\*). The northernmost known monument of Norse origin is a stone with a runic inscription, which was found on the little island Kingittorsuaq ( $72^{\circ} 55'$  N. lat., about 16 miles northwest of Upernavik), and was in 1824 deposited in the National Museum in Copenhagen\*\*). The inscription simply gives the names of the 3 men who "raised this cairn and cut the inscription, Saturday after Gagn-day (April 25)". The year is uncertain. This stone was no doubt raised in memory of an unusual expedition, as a testimony to how far north the three men had penetrated. Króksfjord must have been farther south\*\*\*). I make a guess that Umanak Fjord ( $71^{\circ}$  N.) is the one in question. The special *krókr* might perhaps be looked for in Uwkusissät Fjord, either east of Svartenhuk Peninsula, or at the inner end of the fjord. Is *Snæfjall* Cape Svartenhuk or a mountain farther north (Qaersorsuaq close to Upernavik)? *Hafsbótinn* "Bay of the sea" naturally makes us think of Melville Bay. It is possible that the other places are to be located farther north. But it seems certain that the Skrælings had not yet settled south of Króksfjord in the year 1266.

In the light of this fully credible account of the expedition

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\*) Prof. Finnur Jónsson, with whom I had a conversation with reference to this subject, expressed himself as decidedly in favour of this opinion.

\*\*) Gr. hist. Mindesmærker III, p. 843, Plate IX, fig. 3. — Lelewel: *Géographie du moyen âge*, Vol. IV, 1852, p. 77.

\*\*\*) I venture this assertion in spite of the fact that the astronomical calculation which is based upon the old account of the sun's position points to a higher latitude (Gr. hist. Mindesmærker Vol. III, p. 885).

in 1266, that description of the Eskimo which is found in the so-called *Historia Norwegiæ* becomes more valuable. This work, which was found in the form of a manuscript in Scotland in 1849, and whose original the historians conjecture to have been written in the 13<sup>th</sup> C.\*), contains, among other things, a geographical description of the northern lands. "*Beyond the Greenlanders toward the north*", we are told, "*the hunters come across a kind of small people called Skrælings: when they are wounded alive, their wound becomes white without any issue of blood, but the blood scarcely ceases to stream out of them when they are dead. They have no iron whatever and use whale-teeth for missile-weapons and sharp stones for knives.*" This certainly seems to indicate, as Fischer thinks\*\*), that already in the 13<sup>th</sup> C., the Norsemen and the Skrælings had come into conflict with each other in North Greenland. They must have been seen not far north of Króksfjord about the year 1300; the Norsemen there prevented them from proceeding farther for the time being.

Now it is strange that just exactly from the region about Umanak Fjord we have a tradition which treats of the Greenlanders' fight on the ice with the old Norsemen (*qawłuna'it*). This tradition was sent to Dr. Rink in the years 1861—63 by the "kateket" Abraham Eliassen of Umanak, who had written it down\*\*\*). In it, the Greenlanders are called *innuit*, not *kala'lit*, as in South Greenland. According to the tradition, it seems to have been the Norsemen who gave rise to the struggle, because they had pursued some little girls who had been out to fetch water. These girls came running home and shouted, "They are

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\*) F. Jónsson: *Den oldnorske og oldisl. Litteraturs Historie* (1900) Vol. II, p. 602. — G. Storm: *Monumenta historica Norvegicæ*. Christiania 1888. The above quotation is found in this work pp. 76 and 205.

\*\*) J. Fischer, *u. s.* p. 64.

\*\*\*) Rink: *Eskimoiske Eventyr og Sagn*. Copenhagen 1866, p. 354, cf. pp. 362 ff. and p. 206. — *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo*. London 1875, p. 320—21.



attacking us!" The Greenlanders fled and hid themselves between the heaps of stones, yet the Norsemen managed to get hold of some of them and maltreated them. The Greenlanders, however, by means of artifice, lured their enemies out on the slippery fjord-ice, where they could not stand firmly, and thus the Skrælings succeeded in overcoming them one at a time and killed them all. — This is the only tradition that has been found in North Greenland about the old Norsemen. We shall see later that in South Greenland are preserved more abundant traditions about them.

In the course of the 14<sup>th</sup> C., the Greenland Eskimo gradually moved farther south, either because the Norsemen ceased their expeditions to the north so that the way to the south lay open to them, or because the Eskimo population had increased — perhaps through new immigrations from the north. At all events, the Eskimo had begun to come into closer contact with the Norse inhabitants. The first encounter between them that we hear about took place in 1379, when the invading people made a hostile attack on the Norsemen, of course this first time on the northernmost colony (Vesterbygd, or now Godthaab), killed 18 men and took 2 boys captive, whom they kept as slaves\*). Then they withdrew again toward the north.

That Vesterbygd was completely destroyed by the Skrælings, we know from Ivar Bårdsson (Bårdtszen or Bere), who after 1341 was for many years the director of the bishop's estate, Garðar, in Greenland, and to whom we are indebted for a topographical description of Greenland, which was probably written down on the basis of his oral communications after his return to Norway (about 1370)\*\*. "*Now the Skrælings possess all*

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\*) According to the account in the Icelandic annals, cf. Gr. hist. Mind. III, p. 32, year 1379: "Skrælingjar herjuðu á Grœnlendinga ok drápu af þeim 18 menn ok tóku tvo sveina ok þrælkuðu".

\*\*\*) F. Jónsson: "Den islandske-grønlandske Kolonis historie" (Nordisk Tidsskrift for Vetenskap, Konst och Industri 1893). — Ivar's description is

*Vesterbygd*", we read here. Ivar himself had been one of the men in Greenland whom the governor had appointed to go to *Vesterbygd* to expel the *Skrælings*. They found *Vesterbygd* entirely laid waste and completely deserted, so it seems as if the *Skrælings*, for the time being, had withdrawn.

The next account that we have of a conflict between *Skrælings* and Norsemen goes back to the year 1418. In a bull by Pope Nicolai V dated Sept. 20, 1448\*), it is stated that "*the barbarians from the adjacent coasts of the heathen arrived 30 years ago with a fleet, attacked the Norman population, destroyed a number of their churches and took many captives. But most of these captives returned later from their captivity and reconstructed their dwellings*". — The attack this time was on *Østerbygd*, and, as it is seen, the population here was not altogether exterminated, but recovered again, even if it was only to die a lingering death.

At that time, the communication with Iceland and Norway had already long been inconsiderable. This is evident from the scarcity of information about the ships which sailed to Greenland. According to the Icelandic annals, there came a ship to *Straumsfjord* in Iceland in 1347, which was on the way from Greenland to *Markland* (Newfoundland), but which had been driven by a storm to Iceland. In 1368, a ship brought the last bishop (Alfr) to Greenland. He lived there ten years, but the news of his death did not reach Norway until in the year 1383\*\*). In 1385 it is related that four ships sailed to Greenland and remained there two winters. One of them was commanded by Björn Einarson Jorsalafari, who in Greenland took two young "trolls", that is, Eskimos, to himself\*\*\*).

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found in Gr. hist. Mindesm. III, p. 248 ff., cf. pp. 461 ff. and in Meddelelser o. Gr. XX, p. 322 ff.

\*) Liber XXIII, Registri Bullarum p. 251, cf. Gr. hist. Mindesm. III, 166, 466.

\*\*) F. Jónsson: Den isl.-grönl. kolonis historie p. 543, in Nordisk Tidskrift för Vetenskap, Konst och Industri. 1893.

\*\*\*) Gr. hist. Mindesm. III, 437. On the way home from Jerusalem, he lost

In the years 1406 and 1410 there are again accounts of voyages to Greenland, but they are the last that are historically certain. Yet the papal bull quoted above assumes that the connection between the Norse colony and the rest of Europe was still unbroken in the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> Century, and that the colony had not yet at that time been exterminated. — From about the year 1450 we also have an account of a certain Björn Thorleifson, who was wrecked on the coast of Greenland and was rescued by two trolls\*), and just as mythical are the accounts of the expeditions of the “pirates”, Pinig and Pothorst, to Greenland about the year 1490\*\*). — Finally must be mentioned the document brought to light by Jelič, which was written by Pope Alexander VI (1492 or 1493)\*\*\*), and according to which there had come no ship to the Greenlandic colony in 80 years; as a result, the colony had fallen into misery; now a bishop was to be appointed to go over there and bring them help. But there is no indication that this plan was carried out.

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his way and came to Greenland: “*The Greenlanders made Björn Bonde a grant of Eriksfjord's district while he stayed there [and helped him in several other ways]. At last he was benefited by the chance that he had happened to rescue two trolls, a young boy and his sister, from a rock which was washed over by the sea at high tide. They took an oath of allegiance to him and from that time he did not lack provisions, for they were experienced in all kinds of hunting and fishing, no matter what he needed or desired. The girl-troll considered it the greatest favour when she was allowed to carry and pet the little boy baby which her mistress had just given birth to. She also wanted to wear a head-dress which resembled that of her mistress, but she made it of whale's gut. This brother and sister killed themselves and threw themselves down from the cliffs into the sea, when they were prohibited from following along with Björn Bonde, their beloved master, to Iceland.*” No one who knows the Eskimo will doubt that the trolls here mentioned were Eskimo.

\*) Gr. hist. Mindesm. III, 468 ff.

\*\*) Gr. hist. Mindesm. III, 475—481. (Olaus Magnus.)

\*\*\*) Quoted by Fischer u. s. pp. 49 ff.

This was the state of knowledge about Greenland at the end of the middle ages, at the dawn of the era of great discoveries. By this time all connection between Greenland and the Scandinavian countries had probably been broken off, and the tradition about it was very vague. The name "Skrælings" does not occur outside of the Icelandic-Norwegian saga literature\*). But in foreign works of that period, the inhabitants of Greenland are spoken of as pygmies or as pirates, and the reference is undoubtedly to Eskimo immigrants. Just as it must be supposed that the knowledge about Greenland and adjacent lands kept its firmest hold on the memory in the northern countries, so it is also probable that it was from there that it spread to the south, where it left traces in the old maps and geographies.

At all events, mediæval cartography shows one certain instance of the direct influence exerted by northern tradition on the cosmography of the period, as represented in the so-called Ptolemaic maps and the old Italian Portulans. I refer to the change which took place in the cosmographical representation of the northernmost parts of the world, after Cardinal Filiaster in Nancy had become acquainted with the Danish "mathematicus", i. e. drawer of maps, Claudius Clavus (Niger). He had, as it seems, been asked by the Danish king, Erik of Pomerania, to draw a map, and after that he traveled abroad\*\*). According to G. Storm\*\*\*), he is supposed to have made a stay in Italy about 1425, and he may there have become acquainted with the Ptolemaic maps, precious things, which were probably not accessible in Denmark at that time. What Clavus knew

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\*) The first time it again turns up is on a map drawn by a Scandinavian historian, Olaus Magnus (*Historia de gentium septentrionalium variis conditionibus*. Basel 1567). Under Greenland is found the following inscription: *Hic habitant Pygmei vulgo Screlinger dicti* (cf. Nordenskiöld: *Studier och forskninger*. Stockholm 1884, p. 34 ff.).

\*\*\*) E. Erslev: "Jylland". Copenhagen 1886, p. 136.

\*\*\*) In Ymer 1891, cf. J. Fischer, u. s. p. 66.



from home about the north, he may have added to the old maps while he was in Italy.

We see the result a short time after, namely in the well-known, valuable Ptolemaeus MS, which Cardinal Filiaster caused to be made in the year 1427, and which is now preserved in the City Library of Nancy. On the map of the northern regions which is found there\*), the northern lands, including Greenland, are surprisingly correct in form and situation, when compared with the older maps. There are indications enough that this change is due to the Danish map-drawer, whether Filiaster has directly employed him to draw this map for him, or he has only used a copy of one of Clavus's own maps. For a time, this new type of map was continually in conflict with the old. The incorrect representation was repeated in later editions of Ptolemaeus (Nic. Donis or, as Fischer calls him, *Donnus Nikolaus*, Ulm 1482 and 1486), and seems even still later to have become especially wide-spread through Waldseemüller's map of the world 1507\*\*).

Clavus's map, on the other hand, forms the basis of that representation of the northernmost parts of the world given on Joh. Schöner's globes, which in turn have influenced Merkator's and Ortelius's later cartographical works (through Waldseemüller's *Carta marina* 1516, where Greenland is correctly placed\*\*\*). Also that map of the northern lands from the Zamoisky Library in Warschau, which Nordenskiöld has called attention to, as likewise several Florentine manuscript-maps from the 15<sup>th</sup> C. belong to this type†), which, however, first became firmly established at the appearance of the Zeno map in 1558.

Of great interest are the place-names which are found

\*) A good facsimile of it together with the inscriptions is to be found in Nordenskiöld: *Studier och forskningar*, Stockholm 1883, pp. 62 ff.

\*\*) Fischer, u. s. pp. 86 ff.

\*\*\*) Ib. pp. 95—97.

†) Ib. pp. 71—72.

attached to the northern lands on this type of map, and which have proved to be pure Danish words\*). A list of these with variants from various Italian editions is found, for instance, in Nordenskiöld's Periplus. With respect to the names in Greenland, which are especially attached to rivers and promontories, they appear to be pretty corrupt and the majority of them have never been satisfactorily interpreted. The name Nice-fluvius given to one of the southernmost rivers on the west coast undeniably suggests the Old Norse hnísa, a porpoise (delphinus phocaceus), which to this day occurs in the Greenlandic Eskimo language as an old Scandinavian loan-word with its original meaning retained. If this is accidental or not must still remain an open question.

On the Nancy map, we read at the top to the left, in the northernmost part of Greenland: "*Carelorum infidelium regio maxime septentrionalis*", „the region of the heathen Careli fartherst north". Both Storm and Fischer maintain that Norden-skiöld was wrong when he assumed this to refer to the Finnish Careli. For they had already before the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> C. been converted to Christianity by Thorgil Knutson, so that the expression "heathen" would no longer apply to them, to say nothing of the fact that their land lay elsewhere. The heathen Careli in Greenland cannot be anything but the Eskimo.

Claudius Clavus knew more about them than what has been adopted in the Nancy Codex. He is especially mentioned in Schöner's and Irenicus's geographical works from the 16<sup>th</sup> C. as their authority\*\*) for their accounts of Greenland.

\*) Thus for instance the rivers from Lifland and farther north: fursta fl., avenas fl., trediena fl., fierdas fl. (i. e. first, second, third, fourth river).

\*\*) These two unique passages deserve to be quoted here:

Franciscus Irenicus: Germaniae exegeseos volumina XII. Hagenoae (i. e. Hagenau in Elsass) 1518: "*Grolandiae praeterea insulae Chersonesus dependet a terra inaccessibili a parte versus septentrionem vel ignota propter glaciem. Proficiscuntur tamen Caroli infideles quotidie cum exercitu in Grolandiam et hoc absque dubio ex altera*

They relate how the heathen Careli every day come with their military force from the unknown regions of the north to Greenland. They are dwarfs who use skin-boats. Claudius Clavus himself had seen some of them, who had been taken captive on the sea in a little skin-boat, which was at that time still preserved in the cathedral at Nidaros (Drontheim in Norway). In the same place, there is also a long skin-boat which had been seized in olden times together with some pygmies.

This is the first time we have distinct mention of the big and the little skin-boat, the kajak and the umiak. The account agrees in a remarkable manner with the information given by the Swedish historian Olaus Magnus. He writes in his *Historia de gentium septentrionalium variis conditionibus* (Romæ 1555, Basil 1567) in Book II, Ch. 9, that he himself in the year 1505 saw two skin-boats fastened to the wall, as if for display, over the west entrance of Oslo (Drontheim) Cathedral, and that these boats had been seized from the natives of Greenland in the days of King Hakon (probably Hakon IV, who reigned in Norway from 1355 to 1380). Of no less interest is his description of the human habitations which are seen on the coast of Greenland and "which resemble hulls of ships with the keel uppermost; they are built of the ribs of whales and are covered with moss and heather". Above the chapter:

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*parte poli septentrionalis. Non igitur Oceanus alluit limen terræ recte sub polo ut omnes priscorum auctores profitentur veluti honestissime nobis Niger mathematicus ostendit.*" (Liber X, p. CC.)

J. Schöner: *Luculentissima quaedam terræ totius descriptio 1519: "Et ab illis [scil. Uildlappmanni in Pilappelandia] ad occasum morantur Pigmei parvi longitudine cubitales quos vidit Claudius Chlaus Niger captos in mari in navicula modica de corio præparata, quæ hac nostra tempestate in ecclesia Cathedrali Nodrosiæ reservatur. Habent ibidem navem longam etiam de corio quæ quondam cum Pigmeis etiam capta erat. Haec itaque portio p[ar]te maxima Pthol[emæo] incognita permansit. Sunt utique asperrimæ et frigidissimæ montuosæ et sylvestres ac nemorosæ regiones, quarum incolæ plus de piscatura et renatione vivunt quam de pane, quia raro ibi annona ob frigoris excellentiam.*" (Regiones asperrimæ.)

*De pygmaeis Gruntlandiae* is an illustration representing a European fighting with a native dwarf (Eskimo).

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Thus we have found evidence of the advance of the Eskimo along the west coast of Greenland all the way from the account in *Historia Norwegiæ* dating from the 13<sup>th</sup> C. down to these late accounts from the 16<sup>th</sup> C.

However scattered and unsatisfactory they are, yet they furnish certain proof that all the way down to the beginning of the new era, indeed far into the 16<sup>th</sup> C., there still continued to exist a living tradition in the Scandinavian lands about Greenland and about its strange inhabitants, who had gradually penetrated into the land from the north.

The Eskimo invasion of Greenland did not take place without some bloody conflicts, which, considering this race's cowardly character, explain why it took such a long time for them to penetrate to the southernmost part of Greenland. The invasion has probably taken place through repeated advances from the west, which have been occasioned by shiftings in the territory of the more western Eskimo. It is possible that in South Greenland they have mingled with the few Norsemen who still remained there after all communication with the rest of the world had ceased.

It was at this point that English sailors, driven by the hope of finding a new way to India, rediscovered Greenland, and brought home fresh accounts of the land (Frobisher's first voyage 1576, John Davis's first voyage 1585). Herewith begins a new section of the history of this land and its inhabitants.

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The only place, so far as I know, within Eskimo territory, where there are certain traces of the old Norsemen, is in the southernmost part of the west coast of Greenland. Here are to be seen, as has been mentioned, a large number of ruins of Icelandic origin, which were examined in 1880 by G. Holm\*) and more recently by Dan. Bruun\*\*). In this district also, Dr. Rink, in about the year 1850, wrote down 5 old Eskimo tales about the first and last conflicts between the two peoples\*\*\*). Internal evidence in these tales shows that it is really the old Icelanders that are meant, and not later discoverers; among other things, the name of one of the old Norse chiefs *Olave* (Old Norse *Ólafr*) is preserved, which indicates that the tradition of these tales is at least 500 years old.

Finally, in the South Greenlandic language, there are some words which can and may be Norse loanwords. Hans Egede already calls attention to this fact†). They are all (with the exception of *kona*) words which in form stand isolated in the Greenlandic language, and they are not used much outside of South Greenland. *kona* (Egede's vocab.) = mulier, uxor, is no longer used and was a rare word already in Egede's time††). But its existence is also testified to by Olearius's list of words (*konà*) from 1656. From Old Norse *kona* (woman)? *sava* or *savaq*, a sheep, (Fabricius's vocab.), *nīsa* or *nīsaq*, a porpoise, *kuanēq*, angelica archangelica, could correspond to Old Norse *sauðr*

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\*) Meddelelser om Grønland VI, 1883.

\*\*) Ib. XVI, 1896.

\*\*\*) H. Rink: Esk. eventyr og sagn 1866. — Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo (Edinburgh and London 1875) no. 3—4.

†) "Det gamle Grønlands nye Perustration" 1729 (written 1724): "It is quite certain that these present Greenlandic inhabitants, as far as the west coast is concerned, are principally the descendants of the old so-called *Skrælings*. But that some of the Norsemen have mixed with them and become naturalized in the course of time may be concluded from some few Norse words, agreeing with our language both in form and meaning." (p. 23.)

††) u. s. p. 64.

(gen. *sauða*), *hnísa* and *hvönn* (plur. *hvannir*) New Norwegian *kvanne*. The presence of these same words in the language of Labrador may be explained by the fact that the first missionaries, who came from Greenland, introduced them there. The meaning of *kuanreq* in Labrador, however, is not angelica, but a kind of edible seaweed, and *sava* has there the form *sa'gaq* (vocab. *saugak*).

*kala'leq*, a South Greenlander, just about corresponds to Old Norse *skræling*\*), which, when pronounced by a Greenlander, would become *\*sakala'leq*. The first thing that might make the connection between these two words seem doubtful is the absence of the first syllable (*sa-*) in the Eskimo word, but the Greenlanders themselves explained to Egede that they were called by that name by the old Norsemen (cf. Egede's vocab. under *karálek*, *Groenlandus indigena*. Ita vocatus se dictitant a priscis Christianis, terræ hujus qvondam incolis). In Iceland, the word at present signifies: a churl, a coarse brutal person. In Denmark, it is rather used of a cowed or effeminate person and is perhaps connected with the adjective *skral*. The etymology is uncertain, and the Danish and Icelandic words are possibly to be traced to different origins. In Icelandic, it seems most plausible to connect it with *skræk*, scream, and *skrækja*, to scream (Fritzner's dictionary); in modern Norwegian, there is a word *skrææla* = Swedish and Danish *skråle*, to squall (denominative of *skrål*); the last word is not known from the Old Icelandic language, but still it may have existed there once and have given rise to the Greenlandic name. The first discoverers of modern times often tell about the noise and screams which the Eskimo raised at the sight of them, for instance John Davis on his first voyage (1585): "The people of the countrey hauing espied us, mad a lamentable noise, as we thought, with great outcries and

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\*) Fritzner's Dictionary has also the form *skrelingr* once (Chron. Norvegicæ).

skreechings: we hearing them, thought it had bene the howling of wolues" \*). — If it is permissible to draw any conclusion from Claudius Clavus's Careli, and if this name has not simply been transferred to Greenland from the Careli of Finland, one cannot but wonder at the strong resemblance between this name and Egede's *kara-leq*; *r* no doubt stands for a point *r*, so that the word in reality almost coincides with the other existing form *kala-leq*. Where has Clavus, who seems to have been so unusually well informed in matters of Greenlandic geography, got this form of the name? Is it possible that already at that time the Eskimo *kara-leq* was known in the northern countries alongside of the Icelandic-Norwegian *skræling* or *skreling*? If so, the uncertainty of the origin of the name would only be increased, and there would be one more reason for supposing that it is originally an Eskimo word which has been adopted by the Scandinavians and by false etymology changed to *skræling*. Yet the phonetical characteristics of the two languages make this hypothesis too seem rather uncertain. If, however, this word has been adopted in the Eskimo language from the Icelandic, it must have lost its initial *s* early.

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We may no doubt take for granted that communication between the various Eskimo tribes was greater, perhaps far greater, in earlier times than at present \*\*). The accounts of

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\*) Hakluyt Voyages III, p. 134, cf. Frobisher's second voyage 1577, ib. p. 101.

\*\*) It is suggestive to read in Cranz about how the Labrador Eskimo, when the missionaries for the first time mentioned the Greenlanders and said that they came from the *Kara-lits*, immediately seemed to know this name and shouted: "the Kara-lit up north there are evil people". This idea that the Kara-lit were a people who lived in the north, leads us to a surmise as to whether this name could have come to the Labrador Eskimo from the north, through communication north of the Strait. D. Cranz: Der Grönländischen Historie (1770) III, pp. 298 ff.

the Egedes about the expeditions of the Greenlanders give us that impression, and it is confirmed by information in later works about those Eskimo who have not yet been hemmed in by Christian civilization, but who have kept intact the free habits of their ancestors. Both Bessels and Peary relate that on the Greenland side of Smith Sound, they found families who had come there from Ellesmere Land from the west; thus came Itokirssuk (i. e. *ivtoqerssoq*, he who stammers in speaking) in 1868 together with several others from Baffin Land. Peary mentions that twice within the memory of living men has there been immigration from western tribes\*). Since neither Inglefield (1852) nor Sverdrup (1899—1902) came across any Eskimo on the coasts of Ellesmere Land or in Jones Sound, the immigrating families must have come from some place still farther away (Baffins Land?). "The Smith Sound Eskimo", writes Kroeber, "call these western people Adlet"; then, having mentioned a number of differences between the two tribes, he continues: "In the language, too, the Adlet are said to differ from the Smith Sound tribe. When Qumunapik first arrived at Smith Sound, he needed signs to make himself understood. Instead of "na|ga" he said "hā|ka" or "hā|qa" for "no" (Baffin Land "aqai")." — Fr. Boas, the distinguished investigator of the Eskimo in Baffins Land, relates\*\*) that the southernmost inhabitants of this island cross Lancaster Sound at the approach of winter, and pass the winter on the east side of North Devon. "While here, they keep up some intercourse with the inhabitants of Umingman Nuna (Ellesmere Land). — It is said that they reach the northern shore, whence a long, narrow peninsula, Nedlung, stretches toward Ellesmere Land. Through the narrow passage which separates

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\*) Peary: Northward over the Great Ice 1898. — A. L. Kroeber: The Eskimo of Smith Sound, in Bull. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist. Vol. XII, 1899, p. 267.

\*\*) Fr. Boas: The Central Eskimo (Sixth Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethnol. Smithsonian. Inst. Washington 1888) p. 443.



Tudjan from Nedlung, runs a very swift tide, which keeps open a water hole throughout the winter. All around this place, the ice wastes quickly in the spring, and a large basin is formed, which abounds with seals. Only that part of the peninsula which lies nearest North Devon is high and steep, presenting a bold face. Farther north it is rather low. — Having reached Umingman Nuna, the Eskimo who gave me this information affirm that they fell in with a small tribe who resided on this shore. Here they lived for some time, as there was an abundance of seals during the whole year. Farther northwest is a large fjord, *Kangertluksiaq*, off which an island is found, *Qeqertakadlinang* by name. The Eskimo do not visit the land on the other side of the fjord, as bears are said to be very numerous and large there. Though these migrations to Jones Sound do not occur very frequently, they have by no means been discontinued. For instance, a family which was well known to me has visited Smith Sound, and the father of some friends of a resident of Cumberland Sound returned about fifteen years ago from a long stay on Tudjan and Nedlung."

It seems to me that this description of the unknown regions in the north written about 20 years ago on the basis of the accounts of the natives of Baffin Land is in a striking manner confirmed by Sverdrup's latest discoveries (1899—1902), with but the one difference that Sverdrup did not see any Eskimo in Ellesmere Land, but only traces of them. On the maps showing the geographical results of the expedition, which were published by G. Isachsen in *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, North Devon does end in a peninsula, whereby Jones Sound is greatly narrowed, and through the sound runs a swift tide. *Kangertluksiaq*, the large fjord mentioned, with the island lying just outside, is probably one of the fjords on the west side of Ellesmere Land, where the Norwegian expedition found the places which were richest in animal and plant life. From here, there is only a little distance to Smith Sound and to the northern-

most coast of Greenland. That this has been the route to Greenland in past times is certain, and it is equally certain that sporadic immigrations have taken place all the way down to our days. It may then be assumed that only a few hundred years ago there was more frequent intercourse between the tribes dwelling on both sides of Davis Strait, and that in the 14<sup>th</sup> Century, when the Eskimo first began to press southward from the northernmost parts of Greenland, the two tribes had more in common with respect to language and customs than is the case to-day. The separation between the Greenland Eskimo and the Labrador Eskimo is perhaps after all not much older than 600 years, and to this supposition the great resemblance which, so far as I know, still exists between the languages of these tribes also seems to point.

As for the Greenlanders themselves, they by no means seem to be homogeneous. It was already brought to light as a result of the anthropological investigations led by the Commission in the years 1885—1888 that there existed a distinct tribal difference between the northernmost Greenlanders in the Upernavik District and the remaining population of the west coast\*). In the case of the population of the east coast, it was more difficult to decide where they belonged, perhaps because the material for investigation was rather scanty.

Linguistically there is a pretty sharp division between Upernavik and Umanak, so this is also another reason for assuming that the population in the north has immigrated later than the population in the south, and that it has sprung from a different tribe.

I consider it not impossible that the isolated tribe at Angmagssalik (pronounce: *āmmassalik*) on the east coast is another off-shoot of the same migratory horde, although per-

\*) Sören Hansen: Bidrag til Vestgrønlandernes Anthropologi, Meddelelser om Grønland Vol. VII, pp. 203—205, 229—230. — Bidrag til Østgrønlandernes Anthropologi, Meddelelser om Grønland Vol. X, 1888.

haps it has mixed with West Greenlanders from the south. The traces that have been found of Eskimo migrations do not lie far apart along the northernmost coasts on both sides of the land.

Many traces, also of permanent settlement, have been found in Grinnell Land and Grant Land, which are separated from the northernmost part of Greenland only by the narrow Kennedy and Robeson Channels. Greely found remains of houses at about  $81^{\circ} 45'$  N. lat. at Lake Hazen and Ruggles River\*). Nares found traces of a large Eskimo settlement at Radmore Harbour in Rawlings Bay ( $80^{\circ} 15'$  N. lat.), and traces of tent-places much farther north, likewise a large wooden sledge and a stone lamp only a few miles south of  $82^{\circ}$  N. lat. "Northwards from Cape Beechey no trace of man was discovered" \*\*).

On the Greenland side just opposite to these points, the American North Pole expedition (1871—1873) found many traces of wandering Eskimo, for instance tent-places at Thank God Harbour in Polaris Bay ( $81^{\circ} 30'$ ) and traces of permanent habitation on Offley Islands in the northern part of Petermann's Fjord\*\*\*). This is about four degrees north of the northernmost settlement on the west coast (Whale Sound), and it lies north of Humboldt's Glacier, which by the Ita-Eskimo is considered impassible.

On the east coast of Greenland, the northernmost tent-places which have hitherto been found lie on the south side of Cape Ritter, slightly north of  $76^{\circ}$  N. lat. Large numbers of such places have been found on the southern point of Shannon Island ( $75^{\circ}$ — $75^{\circ} 30'$ ), which testifies to the fact that the island has been visited every summer through a long period of years. That there have been permanent settlements too in these parts

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\*) Greely: Three years of Arctic Service 1881—1884 (London 1886) Vol. I, pp. 379—383, 406.

\*\*) Nares: Voyage to the Polar Sea 1875—1876 (London 1878) Vol. II, pp. 146—149 and pp. 187—191 (H. W. Feilden).

\*\*\*) Bessels: Die amerikanische Nordpolexpedition (Leipzig 1879) pp. 136, 280.

we may conclude from the many winter-huts and graves which have been found on Klein Pendulum Island and around the inner end of Franz Josefs Fjord\*). This coast deserves especial attention on the part of the historian because it was here that Clavering in 1823 fell in with a little Eskimo tribe consisting of 12 individuals, a flock whose existence was no doubt just as great a surprise for the Europeans as the existence of the Europeans was for them, and which has probably since died out. At all events, the next time this stretch of coast was visited, namely by the German-Austrian expedition (1869—1870), there were no longer any living beings to be found there.

That part of the east coast which lies north of 77° N. lat. has hitherto not been explored. Along all the southern part of the east coast, which has been explored and charted by Danish naval officers (Ryder, Amdrup, Holm, Garde), have been found partly indications that Eskimo have formerly lived there, partly — from 66° — Eskimo still living.

Angmagssalik is the northernmost and now the only inhabited point on the east coast. The inhabitants of this place were first discovered and examined in 1883—1885 by G. Holm, who gave an excellent account of the social and ethnographical conditions prevailing among these people\*\*). Unfortunately there is not much information to be had about their language. According to the anthropological investigations, the East Greenlanders may as a whole be said to be “a pure and unmixed Eskimo tribe . . . , which physically surpasses most of the other East Eskimo and especially the other Greenlandic tribes”\*\*\*).

The inhabitants of Angmagssalik themselves have no tradition about their origin, as to whether they have come from the north or from the south. Among their many folk-tales,

\*) Die Zweite deutsche Nordpolarfahrt 1869—1870 (Leipzig 1873—74) Vol. I, pp. 335, 448, 387 ff.

\*\*) G. Holm: Ethnologisk skizze af Angmagssalikerne. Den østgrønlandske Expedition 1883—1885. Meddelelser om Grønland. Vol. 10 (1888).

\*\*\*) Sören Hansen: Bidrag til Østgrønlandernes Anthropologi. Ibid. p. 41.



there is one about a certain *Uiarteq*, who, together with his wife, traveled about the country, namely from Angmagssalik southward, then up the west coast, where they passed the winter, and on to the northern end of the land; from there, along a steep coast, where there ran a swift tide, to a large fjord, where there were no seals, but many white whales and narwhales; from there, farther on to the hero *Karsasik*, "who lived not far north of Angmagssalik" and "who caught bears in stone traps just as we capture foxes here"; from there, *Uiarteq* traveled home to Angmagssalik, thus returning home from the north\*). This is only a short résumé of the tale, which gives an account of various adventures on the way. I do not overestimate the importance of such oral tradition, exposed as it is to both interpolations and other changes of various kinds, but I consider it worth noticing in this connection that this tale implies that the East Greenlanders conceive of their land as an island. — With respect to their language, I may call attention to the following information in Cranz\*\*), which doubtless refers to the inhabitants of Angmagssalik. The Eskimo of the east coast, he says, quite frequently made voyages around the southern point of Greenland in order to trade on the west coast. In 1762, there came some from a greater distance than usual, who in contrast to the usual southerners (from the east coast) were called northerners. They are described as a simple, timid, very little moralized people with black hair and without beards; they "speak Greenlandic, but with a different pronunciation, which resembles somewhat the pronunciation of the Greenlanders in Disko Bay"; it is even added in a remark that "our Greenlanders cannot understand their language when they speak together among themselves".

That the language spoken at Angmagssalik has for a long time differed from South Greenlandic I have no doubt. It would

\*) Meddelelser om Grönland, Vol. X, pp. 255 and 333; cf. p. 259.

\*\*) u. s. Vol. I, p. 343—348.

be of the greatest significance for the understanding of the relationship between the different dialects in Greenland, and for the elucidation of Eskimo migrations, if this dialect as well as the dialect of Cape York could sometime be thoroughly examined\*).

We know nothing certain about the earlier wanderings of the Eskimo before they came to Greenland. We know nothing about how long they have been in America, or whence they have come thither. When Dr. H. Rink, mostly through linguistic, ethnographical and geographical considerations, came to the result that they have moved from the interior of America along the rivers toward the coasts, expelled by the Indians\*\*), I cannot see that he had any conclusive proof for his theory. Such probabilities, which are based upon resemblances and differences between the various tribes, are not in themselves of equal weight with historical evidence, as long as no certain criteria can be found for the direction and the dating of the migrations. What has been shown is a relationship between the various Eskimo tribes which points back to original unity; nothing, however, indicates the point of departure or the direction of the wanderings. If they have moved from west to east, or from south to north, or in some other way, is not decided\*\*\*). We do not know if the ancestors of the Eskimo

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\*. All the East Greenlanders living to the south of Angmagssalik are said to have wandered over recently to the west coast with the intention of settling there for good, so that now Angmagssalik is the only inhabited place on the east coast. Cf. G. Meldorf: *Fra en Vaccinations-rejse i Egnen omkring Cap Farvel 1900* in *Meddelelser om Grønland* Vol. XXV, 1902.

\*\*) Rink considered it highly probable that the transition from inland dwellers to coast dwellers had taken place in Alaska. "Eskimo Tribes" (*Meddelelser om Grønland* Vol. XI, 1887) pp. 4 ff. Supplement (*Medd. om Grønland*, 1891) pp. 19 ff.

\*\*\*) Dr. F. Boas has recently proposed that the original home of the Eskimo is to be sought east of the Mackenzie River (the coasts of Hudson Bay). The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay, *Bulletin Amer. Mus. Natur. Hist.* Vol. XV, 1901, pp. 369 ff.

have followed the rivers or the coasts, if they were the original inhabitants of America or if they have come to America later than the Indians.

The Eskimo language by itself, so far as it is hitherto known, constitutes an independent family of languages. No one has as yet succeeded in finding any language either in Asia or among the American Indians which might possibly have been originally related to it\*). We find it spoken between such widely separated points as the east coast of Greenland and the Asiatic side of Bering Strait. The Eskimo live only along the coasts, seldom (as in Alaska) a little ways in toward the interior of the land. Between the two boundary points mentioned, there exists a difference of dialect about equivalent to the difference between two related languages (like English and German). The transitions from dialect to dialect seem to take place on the whole steadily and gradually in the intervening districts; but it has not yet been possible to undertake a direct comparison between tribes which are more widely separated than that they can visit each other\*\*).

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\*) Lucien Adam: En quoi la langue esquimaude diffère-t-elle grammaticalement des autres langues de l'Amérique du Nord? Congr. Internat. Amér. Compte-Rendu, Copenhagen 1884, pp. 337, 353. — H. Rink: Om Eskimoernes Herkomst, Aarbøger f. nord. Oldkyndighed, 1871, pp. 286 ff.

\*\*) As compensation for this, we have the cases where missionaries from Greenland or Labrador have had an opportunity to communicate with more distant Eskimo. The most interesting of these cases is that of J. A. Miertsching, who in the capacity of interpreter accompanied Mac Clure's expedition aboard the "Investigator" in 1850—54, after having spent five years as a missionary in Labrador. So he spoke the language of the Labrador Eskimo. The expedition, as is well known, passed through Bering Strait to the North American archipelago. After having spent three winters there, they deserted the ship. Miertsching's papers were unfortunately lost on this occasion, but after his return home, he wrote a diary after memory (Reise Tagebuch. Gnadau 1856). According to what he here tells us, he spoke with the Eskimo (*Kogarmiut*) already a little east of Point Barrow (Long. 153° 47'); all that he writes about their language is this: "Die Verschiedenheit des Dialektes hinderte nicht, das wir uns recht gut verstehen konnten" (p. 27). About the Eskimo at Cape Bathurst

On the whole, all information about the language outside of those places which have been visited by the missionaries is very incomplete and must be employed with the greatest care.

If I think, notwithstanding, that I have been able to get some certain results out of comparisons between Greenlandic words and those specimens of the language spoken on the northernmost coasts of the American continent which missionaries and arctic explorers have written down, then it is because, aside from those accidents of orthography which are due to misunderstanding or inaccuracy, I find that the specimens show certain consistent deviations which are without doubt peculiar to certain parts of these coasts and characteristic of the dialects there. The partial agreement of orthography in the specimens of the different explorers with respect to these deviations indicates that all the explorers have heard them. Moreover since it seems very uncertain whether these dialects, being so difficult of access, will ever be subjected to competent treatment by specialists in linguistics who will be willing to make the long journey necessary for investigating them at firsthand, we must be content for the present to make the best of the material at hand.

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(127°) he writes: "wenn mir ihre Ausdrücke unbekannt waren, halfen sie sich durch Zeichensprache . . . Die Sprache dieser Leute weicht etwas ab von der anderen Eskimos an dieser Küste. Sie verstanden mich sehr gut, mir hingegen wurde es im Anfang schwer Alles zu verstehen". Also among the Eskimo on the coast of Prince Albert's Land (72° N. lat. 118° W. long.) mutual comprehension seems to have been brought about without difficulty. These Eskimo live one and a half times as far from Labrador as the inhabitants of Upernavik are from Cape Farewell on the coast of Greenland. That Miertsching was able, partially at least, to understand the distant Eskimo and they him, distinctly indicates that there must be great homogeneousness both in the structure of the language and in the single sounds of the language all the way from Labrador to Point Barrow. Unfortunately Miertsching says nothing about the nature of those differences of pronunciation which often caused the difficulty in understanding.



So far as I can see, it seems as if the Eskimo dialectal peculiarities are, from a geographical point of view, irregularly grouped (as is the case in the other languages): some are very wide-spread, others exist only within narrow limits; some extend over connected territory, others appear in two different places which are separated from each other. Each group must have originated in the course of time as divisions took place in the tribe and these tribal divisions became isolated from each other. The more two dialect-groups resemble each other, the shorter must be the time that has passed since their separation took place. By means of this criterion, it is possible to reach some decision with regard to the historical relations between the tribal groups; and in so far as it seems probable that some of these groups are linguistically at an earlier stage of development than others, it will perhaps also be possible to decide about the relative length of time which has passed since their separation from the primary horde. This criterion, however, can give us no clue as to which group has dwelt longest in the district in which it is found at present, and as to which groups have been the last to wander into the districts where they are now. The linguistic data alone cannot be used to prove anything with regard to the history of the migrations.

As we have seen, however, in the beginning of this investigation, there is some historical probability for the assumption that the Eskimo of Greenland (at all events on the west coast) have taken possession of their present territory later than the other East Eskimo groups; and certain peculiarities in the language of the Greenlanders, when compared with the West Eskimo dialects, indicate that they have reached on the whole a more advanced stage of linguistic development than the western and central Eskimo. This is probably not accidental; here I am content, however, merely to state the fact. — With regard to those linguistic-historical results which I think I have been able to show at least some probability for, I shall not

anticipate here, but refer to the latter sections of this work, which are concerned with the Eskimo dialects.

Accordingly, in order to reach decisive results regarding the earlier history of the Eskimo race, we must have far more extensive investigations; through the language alone we can expect no results. When we consider how difficult it has been to reach any decision about the distant past of the Indo-European race by means of comparative investigations, and how many different theories there are about the situation of the original home of this people and about their wanderings, it is scarcely surprising that no one has as yet succeeded in laying down the lines for the first migrations of the Eskimo hordes out from a common point of departure. Yet it does not seem improbable that by means of archæological investigations and a continued study of its traditions and language, we shall sooner reach the desired results for this unmixed and strongly marked coast-people than for a people whose history presents more complexity.

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### III.

Bibliographical Survey. — The Intellectual Culture of the Greenlanders.

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**1. Survey of the literature about the Eskimo language,  
historically arranged, with some notes and quotations  
in connection with the works mentioned.**

I only mention such works as have had or can have independent value for linguistic research, while mere abstracts or compilations are not taken into consideration. Those who desire a complete list I can refer to:

J. C. Pilling: Bibliography of the Eskimo Language, Washington 1887, which includes all Eskimo dialects, and

P. Lauridsen: Bibliographia Groenlandica in "Meddelelser om Grönland" Vol. 13, 1890, which only includes works about the Greenlandic language (pp. 199—217).

**a. Accounts of Travelers and Geographical Works containing collections of Eskimo words or specimen texts.**

1. Martin Frobisher: First voyage 1576. The language of the people of Meta incognita (Hakluyt's Voyages, London 1810, Vol. 3, p. 56).

17 Eskimo words with translations (from Baffins Land).

*"This people I judge to be a kind of Tartar, or rather a kind of Samoed"* (p. 126).

2. John Davis: Second voyage 1586 (Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. 3, p. 140).

40 Eskimo words with translations (from Greenland).

*"They pronounce their language very hollow and deepe in the throat."*

About the language farther north he says:

„They differ not from the other, neither in their Canoes nor apparel, yet is their pronuntiation more plaine than the others, and nothing hollow in the throat.”

3. A. Olearius: Vermehrte Neue Beschreibung der Muscovitischen und Persischen Reyse. Schleswig 1656. Lib. III, Cap. 4. Von den Grünländern.

113 Eskimo words with translations.

When David Dannell's expedition returned in 1654, they brought with them 4 Greenlanders from Baals Revier (Godthaab Fjord), a man *Ihiob*, a woman *Kuneling* and two children *Kabelau* and *Sigoko*. They were sent to King Frederik III, who, because of the pest in Denmark, was staying in Flensburg in Schleswig. The Greenlandic words given were written down here by an army-surgeon Reinhold Horn from Pomerania, who had taken part in Dannell's expedition and had been appointed to take charge of the Greenlanders. Olearius himself later got an opportunity to observe them when they came to live in his house.

*„Ihre Sprache und Auszrede fällt auff die Tartarische art; Sie reden und schnattern geschwinde und machen die Wörter meist im Palatu, oder oben im Halse, welche sie cum racione quadam oder halb schnarrend hervor bringen, sonderlich wenn das (g) mit unterlaufft, als Kagsua etc. Ihre Sprache ist sonderlich, und mit keiner Europäischen gemein”* (p. 170).

4. Thomas Bartholin: Acta medica et philosophica. Hafniae 1673. p. 70: De Groenlandorum Unicornu et Lingva.

About 400 Greenlandic words with translations. These were written down by Thomas Bartholin's brother Caspar who had them from the previously mentioned Greenlanders from Dannell's expedition, whose names are given in the following forms: *Juppaa*, *Gunneling*, *Cablau*, *Siogo*. Here, as in the previous lists of words, there are many words that are correctly translated, but also many that have been misunderstood.

5. A. Dobbs: An Account of the Countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay. London 1744.

About 150 Eskimo words together with some sentences (pp. 203—205), perhaps from the northwest coast of Hudson Bay.

6. Joh. Anderson: Nachrichten von Island, Grönland und der Strasse Davis. Hamburg 1746.

Pp. 285—328 contain collections of Greenlandic words and examples of sentences and inflected forms.



7. P. Kalm: *En Resa til Norra America*. Stockholm 1753—61.  
German translation 1754. English translation 1770.  
25 Eskimo words with translations (Vol. 3, p. 451), perhaps from the  
Labrador Language, communicated by the missionary, Pater Pie J. S.
8. Bryant: Table to show the Affinity between the Languages  
spoken at Oonalashka and Norton Sound, and those of the  
Greenlanders and Eskimaux. — Cook and King: *Voyage to  
the Pacific Ocean*. London 1784, Vol. 3, pp. 552—553.  
Here, among other things, some words from Norton Bay (Alaska) and  
Oonalaska.
9. J. Ross: *A voyage of discovery etc., for the purpose of  
exploring Baffin's Bay*. London 1819.  
A List of Eskimo words pp. 122—123.
10. W. E. Parry: *Journal of a Second Voyage for the Discovery  
of a North-west Passage ... performed in the years 1821—  
22—23 in His Majesty's Ships Fury and Hecla*. London 1824.  
Pp. 551—571, Specimens of the Eskimo language and lists of words  
from the south coast of Baffins Land, Melville Peninsula, Iglulik.
11. F. W. Beechey: *Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and  
Beering's Strait . . . . . in the years 1825—26—27—28*.  
London 1831.  
Vol. II, pp. 366—383, original lists of words from Alaska, especially from  
Kotzebue Sound.
12. W. H. Gilder: *Schwatka's Search etc.* London and New  
York 1881.  
Inuit Philology pp. 299—316 (Hudson Bay and Cumberland Sound).
13. P. H. Ray: *Report of the International Polar Expedition to  
Point Barrow*. Washington 1885.  
Vocabulary of 711 words and 307 phrases from Pt. Barrow and Cape  
Smythe.
14. R. F. Stupart: *The Eskimo of Stupart Bay (Labrador)*.  
Canadian Institute Proc. 3<sup>rd</sup> Series. Vol. IV. Toronto 1886.
15. A. Woldt: *Capt. Jacobsen's Reiser til Nordamerikas  
Nordvestkyst 1881—83* (Norwegian translation from the  
German by J. Utheim). Kristiania 1887.  
Specimens of the Language of Alaska pp. 327—329.

16. Franz Boas: The Central Eskimo. — 6<sup>th</sup> Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethnol. Smithson. Inst. Washington 1888.  
 Passim Eskimò words from Baffins Land; in the end of the book (pp. 648 ff.), also texts of songs, together with a list of words pp. 659—666.
17. John Murdoch: Ethnological Results of the Point Barrow Expedition, Alaska 1881—83. — 9<sup>th</sup> Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethnol. Smithson. Inst. Washington 1892.
18. John Murdoch: Notes on counting and measuring among the Eskimo of Point Barrow. The Amer. Anthropologist 1890.
19. G. Holm: Den östgrönlandske Expedition 1883—85, Vol. 2 (Text). Köbenhavn 1888.  
 Passim Eskimo words and names from the east coast of Greenland. List of names pp. 183—200. List of words pp. 218—234. Texts of drum songs etc. pp. 333 ff.
20. H. Rink: The Eskimo tribes, their distribution and characteristics, especially in regard to language. With a comparative vocabulary. Vol. I—II (Supplement). — Meddelelser om Grönl. Vol. 11, 1887—91.  
 Angakoq-words pp. 96—97 (vol. II). Text with interlinear translation pp. 102—106.
21. L. M. Turner: Ethnology of the Ungava District, Hudson Bay Territory, ed. by J. Murdoch. — 11<sup>th</sup> Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethnol. Smithson. Instit. Washington 1894.
22. E. W. Nelson: The Eskimo about Bering Strait. — 18<sup>th</sup> Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Washington 1899.  
 Eskimo text with translation from Alaska (St. Michael) pp. 475—479.
23. A. L. Kroeber: The Eskimo of Smith Sound. — Bull. Amer. Mus. Natur. Hist. Vol. 12. New York 1899.  
 Passim words from Smith Sound. Appendix about the Angakoq language pp. 322—327.
24. F. Boas: The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay. — Bull. Amer. Mus. Natur. Hist. Vol. 15. New York 1901.  
 Texts with translation pp. 333—354.

25. R. Stein: Geographische Nomenklatur bei den Eskimos des Smith-Sundes. — Petermanns Mitteilungen, 48. Band, 1902, pp. 195—201.

An introduction with remarks on the pronunciation.

26. R. Stein: Eskimo Music. — The white world. Life and adventures within the arctic circle portrayed by famous living explorers. New York 1902, pp. 333—356.

#### b. Dictionaries and First Translations.

27. Paul Egede: Et grønlandsk Dictionnair. Christianshaab 1739.

Manuscript in the University Library in Copenhagen. Add. 435, 4<sup>o</sup>.

28. H. Egede: Elementa Fidei Christianae, in quibus in Grönlendorum Vernacula proponuntur. Hafniae 1742.

Luther's Catechism and other things in Greenlandic.

29. Paul Egede: Evangelium okausek tussarnersok. Kjöbenhavnme 1744.

The four gospels in Greenlandic.

30. Paul Egede: Dictionarium Grönländico-Danico-Latinum. Hafniae 1750.

Paul Egede's dictionary and grammar (cf. below) has been of the greatest importance for all subsequent investigation of the Greenlandic language. When he was 13 years old, he came with his father to Greenland (1721). He was in Greenland twice, and spent 14 years there in all, during which time he acquired the language of the natives to perfection. He often lived with them for months at the time *in sordidis et squalore obsitis Barbarorum tentoriis* (Preface to Lectori Benevolo, p. 5). — *Sufficit mihi glaciem in hoc tam difficili argumento primum fregisse et aliis viam monstrasse* (ib. p. 7).

31. Otho Fabricius: Den grønlandske Ordbog forbedret og forøget. Köbenhavn 1804.

32. John Washington: Eskimaux and English Vocabulary, published by order of the lords commissioners of the admiralty for the use of the Arctic Expedition in Search of Sir John Franklin. London 1850.

33. Friedrich Erdmann: Eskimoisches Wörterbuch, gesammelt von den Missionaren in Labrador. Budissin 1864.
34. Samuel Kleinschmidt: Den Grønlandske Ordbog omarbejdet, edited by H. F. Jörgensen. København 1871.  
Reliable and almost complete in lexical respects.
35. Stephan N. Buynitzky: English-Aleutian Dictionary, published by the Alaska Commercial Company. San Francisco 1871.
36. E. Petitot: Vocabulaire Français-Esquimau, Dialecte des Tchiglit des bouches du Mackenzie et de l'Anderson, précédé d'une monographie de cette tribu et de notes grammaticales. Paris 1876.  
Petitot was for a number of years a missionary among the Tinné Indians, who live south of the Eskimo, and he has also published a large dictionary of their language. He finds absolutely no resemblance between the languages of the two neighboring peoples. He has included in his Eskimo dictionary a number of words from the Agutit-Eskimos by Churchill River (the west coast of Hudson Bay), which his colleague R. P. Gasté, missionary at Caribou Lake, has collected. Some linguistic remarks by Egede are quoted in the introduction.
37. R. Wells and John W. Kelly: English-Eskimo and Eskimo-English Vocabularies. Bureau of Education. Washington 1890.
38. J. Kjer and Chr. Rasmussen: Dansk-grønlandsk Ordbog samt Supplement til Kleinschmidts grønlandske Ordbog. Kjøbenhavn 1893.  
In the Greenlandic-Danish supplement, which has been prepared by Chr. Rasmussen, special attention is paid to the difference between North Greenlandic and South Greenlandic. A list of the Danish proper names which have been adopted in West Greenland is given pp. 707—709.
39. Zachary Belkoff: Prayers and Hymns in the Yukon-Kuskokwim Language. New York 1896.
40. Francis Barnum: Vocabulary [of the Eskimo language of the Western coast of Alaska]. — Grammatical Fundamentals of the Innuít Language. Boston and London 1901 (pp. 319—376).



**c. Grammars and Text-books etc. by authors who have learned the language that they describe by hearing it.**

41. Paul Egede: *Grammatica Grönländica Danico-Latina*. Havniæ 1760.

Egede's view of the grammatical structure of the Greenlandic language has on the whole been the basis of all subsequent descriptions of the East Eskimo language.

*"Omnes enim novae lingvæ cuidam antiquæ originem debent, mutatisque stirpibus mutatur lingua, mixtione ex novis et antiquis vocabulis facta etc. Antiquæ lingvæ e contrario primam plerumque retinent compositionem etc. Huic innixi fundamento linguam Grönländicam esse pervetustam, credere deberemus, accuratas enim in plurimis Grammaticæ regulas habet etc. — Ceterum, hanc linguam Europæis aut Asiaticis debere originem, haud credo"* (Egede's *Prefatio*).

42. David Cranz: *Historie von Groenland* enthaltend die Beschreibung des Landes und der Einwohner etc. insbesondere die Geschichte der dortigen Mission der Evangelischen Brüder zu Neu-Herrnhut und Lichtenfels. Barby und Leipzig 1765. — Zweyte Auflage 1770.

Vol. 1, pp. 277—291, remarks on the grammatical construction of the Greenlandic language, with examples etc.

43. E. Thorhallesen: *Schema Verbi Grönländici exeuntes in rpok, pok purum, vok et ok*. Sine et cum suffixis agentium et patientium. Havniæ 1776.

Tabulated survey of all the verbal inflectional endings.

44. Otho Fabricius: *Forsøg til en forbedret Grönländsk Grammatica*. København 1791. — Second Ed. 1801.

Egede's grammar on a more extensive plan.

45. (C. J. O. Steenberg?) *Grönländsk Grammatik*. I. Nominernes Flexion i Henseende til Numeros og Suffixa. II. Verbernes Flexion med og uden Suffixa. Kbhvn. 1849.

46. Ivan Veniaminoff: *Langues de l'Amérique Russe*. — *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, 5<sup>me</sup> série, vol. 1, 1850 (vol. 125 of the collection).

Here a short summary of the results of the author's investigation of the westernmost, partly Eskimo, languages (Unalaska, Kadiak, Aleuts, Koloshian), which he has described in detail in Russian in five works published in the years 1840—1846 (printed in St. Petersburg).

*"La Grammaire aléoute de Véniaminov est une des meilleures monographies qu'il m'ait été donné d'étudier"* (V. Henry, 1879, cf. below).

47. Samuel Kleinschmidt: Grammatik der grönländischen sprache mit theilweisem einschluss des Labradordialects. Berlin 1851.

In the preface, the author states that his object is to free the Greenlandic grammar *"von den autorität des lateinischen als alleinigen sprach-musters . . . und sollte daher der wesentlichste unterschied zwischen jenen früheren grammatiken und der gegenwärtigen darin bestehen, dass der ausgangspunkt, statt bei jenen europäisch, bei dieser grönländisch ist."*

This is a very elaborate work and is characterized both by the author's grammatical acuteness and his delicate appreciation of the idiosyncracies of the language. It contains a great deal of new information, partly new points of view, and many good, instructive examples with appended translations. The style is rather heavy, often philosophical, no doubt influenced by contemporary German philology. — The new orthography introduced by Kleinschmidt, which has been adopted in the Greenlandic literature, will be discussed in another place. Portrait and some information about him is to be found in *"Meddelelser om Grönland"* Vol. 8, p. 87.

48. C. E. Janssen: Elementarbog i Eskimoernes Sprog til Brug for Europæerne ved Colonierne i Grönland. Kbhvn. 1862.
49. W. H. Dall: On some peculiarities of the Eskimo Dialect. — Proc. Amer. Assoc. for the Advancement of Science. Vol. 19, 1871, pp. 332 ff.

Occasioned by the visit of two Eskimos from Repulse Bay in Washington in 1869—70; they were brought home by Capt. Hall.

50. E. Petitot: Vocabulaire Français-Esquimau, dialecte des Tchiglit etc. (as above), précédé . . . de notes grammaticales. Paris 1876.
- Cf. no. 36.

51. H. Rink: The Eskimo language, its admirable organisation as to the construction and flexion of words. Forms

Section II of "The Eskimo Tribes". Medd. om Grönland Vol. 11, 1887.

Dr. Rink was first a colonial manager and later the colonial inspector in South Greenland in the years 1853—1858.

52. Chr. Rasmussen: Grönlandsk Sproglære. Kbhvn. 1888.  
I have got much help from this very practical handbook of the inflectional and derivative suffixes in Greenlandic.
53. Th. Bourquin: Grammatik der Eskimo-Sprache, wie sie im Bereich der Missions-Niederlassungen der Brüdergemeinde an der Labradorküste gesprochen wird. London and Gnadau 1891.  
Clear and full of interesting matter.
54. Aug. Schultze: Grammar and Vocabulary of the Eskimo Language of North Western Alaska. Kuskokwim District. Bethlehem, Pa. 1891.
55. P. H. Sørensen: 100 Timer i Grönlandsk. Köbenhavn 1900.  
A Greenlandic-Danish "parleur", accompanied by "Nøgle til 100 Timer i Grönlandsk" (Key to 100 Lessons in Greenlandic). Copenhagen 1900.
56. Francis Barnum: Grammatical Fundamentals of the Innuít Language as spoken by the Eskimo of the Western coast of Alaska. Boston & London 1901.  
Reviewed in the Danish Geografisk Tidsskrift Vol. 16, 1901—1902, pp. 186 ff.
57. W. Thalbitzer: Studiet af et primitivt sprog. — Förhandlingar vid sjätte nordiska filologmötet i Uppsala 1902. Uppsala 1903 (pp. 50—62).

**d. Comparative or descriptive treatments of the language by scholars who have probably not heard it themselves\*).**

58. M. Wöldike: Betænkning om det Grönlandske Sprogs Oprindelse og Uliighed med andre Sprog. — Det Kiöbenhavnske Selskabs Skrifter 1745, 2. Deel, pp. 129—156.

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\*1) With the exception of Dr. Rink, who was familiar with the West Greenlandic language.

Conclusion: Greenlandic and Hungarian both originated in the same part of the world, "*which I believe to have been the great Tartarie*" (p. 151). Wöldike was professor in theology at the University of Copenhagen.

59. J. Abel: *Schediasma hocce etymologico-philologicum prodromum Americano Grönländicum in Fronte gerens. Mæcenatibus. Patronis et Fautoribus appropriatum insinuat.* Havniae 1783.

"*Ut Americanorum stirps, quemadmodum in superioribus vidimus, Hunnica; ita & Grönländorum*" (p. 22).

Abel, juris consultus & glottophilus. Irenoburgi 1783.

60. B. S. Barton: *New Views of the Origin of the Tribes and Nations of America.* Philadelphia 1798.

61. Rasmus Rask: *Om det grønlandske sprog.* — B. U. H. (Bibliotheca Universitatis Hafniae) Add. 617<sup>g</sup>. 4<sup>o</sup>.

A little manuscript without any signature which lies together with a number of Rask's papers and whose handwriting, orthography and contents all evince that it was written by Rask between the years 1804 and 1818.

"*With respect to the language itself, it does not seem to have any relationship with the European languages, but seems to be most nearly allied to the language in the northernmost part of America.*"

62. Adelung and Vater: *Mithridates oder allgemeine Sprachkunde etc.* Berlin 1806—17.

Grammatical comments on the Eskimo language Vol. 3, pp 425—454. Vol. 4, p. 248—255.

63. H. Steinthal: *Charakteristik der hauptsächlichsten Typen des Sprachbaues.* Berlin 1860 (pp. 202—231).

64. A. F. Pott: *Unterschied eines transitiven und intransitiven nominativs.* — A. Kuhn's Beiträge zur vergleich. Sprachforschung Vol. 7, 1873.

The author had before him a manuscript: *Grönländische Grammatik* 1830 by Valentin Müller "*which is not exactly characterized by scientific insight.*" Kleinschmidt's grammar is also cited.

65. V. Henry: *Esquisse d'une grammaire de la langue Innok.* Paris 1878.

Founded on Petitot's vocabulary and grammar.



66. V. Henry: Esquisse d'une grammaire raisonnée de la langue Aléoute. Paris 1879.  
Founded on Veniaminov's Aleutian grammar (1846).
67. Fr. Müller: Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft. Wien 1877—1882. Vol. 2 (1882): Die Sprache der Innuït (Eskimo) (pp. 162—180).
68. Lucien Adam: En quoi la langue esquimaude diffère-t-elle grammaticalement des autres langues de l'Amérique du Nord? — Congrès International des Américanistes, Compte-Rendu, 5<sup>th</sup> session (pp. 337—355). Copenhague 1884.  
Conclusion: the Eskimo language is not polysynthetic, but derivative almost to an extreme, wherein it differs both from the American languages and from the Ural-Altaic languages. It constitutes an "*irreductible famille*".
69. H. Rink: Les dialectes de la langue esquimaude. — Compte-rendu du Congr. Int. des Américanistes (pp. 328—337). Copenhague 1884.
70. H. Rink: The Eskimo Dialects as serving to determine the Relationship between the Eskimo Tribes. — Anthropol. Inst. of Great Britain and Ireland Vol. 15, pp. 239—245. London 1885.
71. H. Rink: Om de eskimoiske Dialekter, som Bidrag til Bedømmelsen af Spørgsmaalet om Eskimoernes Herkomst og Vandringer. — Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie. Köbenhavn 1885 (pp. 219—260).
72. A. Pfizmaier: Die Sprache der Aleuten und Fuchsinseln. — Sitzungsberichte der k. k. Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophische-historische Classe, Vol. 105—106. Wien 1884.
73. A. Pfizmaier: Die Abarten der grönländischen Sprache. — Ibidem Vol. 107. Wien 1884.
74. A. Pfizmaier: Kennzeichnungen des kaläläkischen Sprachstammes. — Ibidem Vol. 108. Wien 1885.

75. A. Pfizmaier: Darlegungen grönländischer Verbalformen. Ibidem Vol. 109. Wien 1885.
76. H. Rink: Den østgrønlandske Dialekt (1887). — Meddelelser om Grönl. Vol. 10, Købhvn. 1888 (pp. 208—234).  
Based on an interleaved copy of Kleinschmidt's dictionary, which the Danish expedition to the east coast (1883—85) had taken along and where the native interpreters of the expedition had noted down some East Greenlandic deviations from the forms of the dictionary.
77. A. F. Chamberlain: The Eskimo Race and Language. — Proceedings of the Canadian Institute. Toronto 1889.
78. J. Byrne: General Principles of the Structure of Language Vol. I—II. Second ed. London 1892.  
Among the grammatical sketches of Vol. I, there is one about the Eskimo language (pp. 136—145).
79. Fr. Misteli: Charakteristik der hauptsächlichsten Typen des Sprachbaues. Neubearbeitung des Werkes von Prof. H. Steinthal. Berlin 1893.  
I. Einverleibenden Sprachen. 1. Der mexikanische Typus. 2. Der grönländische Typus (pp. 135—154).
80. W. J. Hoffman: The graphic art of the Eskimos. Washington 1897 (also in Report of the U. S. Nat. Mus. 1895).  
Cf. Techmer: Internationales Zeitschrift Vol. 1 (Eskimo-pictographs).

The Eskimo language is more incidentally discussed in treatises and works by R. Rask, Es. Tegnér, G. v. d. Gabelentz, Whitney, Techmer, O. Jespersen and others.

## 2. The Intellectual Culture of the Greenlanders.

The Eskimo language is only spoken by about 33000 individuals\*), so thus it is not because it is wide-spread that it is worth studying, but because like a rare plant, it testifies to a peculiar process of development and affords new material for scientific comparison. Not only does the language itself, by virtue of its content and its construction, contain evidence of a peculiar intellectual life, but it is also the bearer of a primitive civilization.

The Greenlanders' traditions, which consist both of tales and of songs, had been only orally handed down until the middle of the last century, for the art of writing was completely unknown to this race before the coming of the Europeans. In 1859, Dr. Rink sent appeals for the old Greenlandic tales to be collected. He found to his surprise that at all the settlements in the land there were large numbers of them preserved.

They were now written down by the native school-teachers and sent to him, and in the course of a few years, he received over 400, many of which fill several printed pages. How intact these traditions have been handed down was in many cases strikingly proved by the fact that the same tale was told in exactly the same way, almost word for word, in different districts which time out of mind can have had no connection with each other. Many of the traditions have later proved to be common to both the Eskimo in Greenland and in America.

Most of the travelers' accounts from all the Eskimo districts make mention of the strange drum-dances with accompanying songs. It is very difficult to get these songs written down

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\*) According to Rink: *The Eskimo Tribes* (1887) pp. 32—34, the number of Eskimo outside of Greenland may be estimated at 21400. According to "Meddelelser fra Directoratet for den Kgl. grønlandske Handel", the Greenlanders numbered 11118 at the end of the year 1900. At Smith Sound there are about 250 (Stein). The population in Greenland is slowly increasing.

and therefore there have until of recent years existed but scattered specimens of them. It was not before I had crossed the Nugsuaq Peninsula that I came to places where this autochthonic poetry still led a miserable existence, half in concealment, because it is disliked by the missionaries. Round about the curves of the *Oommannaq* Fjord I met with men and women in all the settlements who still very distinctly remembered both the words, the refrains and the tunes of the old songs. Indeed in some places they still knew how to beat the drum (a piece of gut stretched over a wooden ring) according to all the rules of the art; in *Oommannätsiaq*, I saw a ring of singers hand in hand circling round the drummer who stood in the middle, making wry faces and distorting his body. Of course I did not rest before I had written down an ample supply of these songs, and now they are printed and thus preserved for literature. They are just as primitive as the tales, and what art there is expended on them is applied more to their delivery than to their language; only the minority of them contain any approach to rhyme or rhythmical regularity. Their antiquity is testified to not only by their whole character but also by various archaic forms. The Eskimo knew of no other poetry half a century ago; it is original poetry, dating from the race's stone-age, which in this way has been rescued from oblivion.

H. Rink: *Eskimoiske Eventyr og Sagn*. Kbh. 1866 (Songs pp. 349—350). — Supplement. 1871 (Songs pp. 138—149). — Tales and traditions of the Eskimo, with a sketch of their habits, religion, language etc. Edinburgh and London 1875. — G. Holm: *Ethnologisk Skizze af Angmagsalikerne*. Medd. om Gr. Vol. 10. Kbh. 1888 (Songs pp. 329—334). — H. Rink: *Bemærkninger til G. Holms Samling* (ibid. pp. 335—445). — C. Kruuse: *Angmagsalikerne* (*Geografisk Tidsskrift*, Kbh. 1902). — W. Thalbitzer: *Eskimoisk Digtekunst* (Tilskueren 1903).

Specimens of Eskimo folklore outside of Greenland are found in the works (mentioned in the linguistic bibliographical survey) of Boas, Stein, Turner, Petitot, Nelson, Barnum etc.



Nowhere else have the Eskimo so long been under the influence of more advanced civilization and nowhere else have they progressed so far in enlightenment as in Danish Greenland. They would never have attained to this result by their own efforts alone, for they live too isolated and too scattered. If a great many of the Greenlanders now-a-days are able both to read and write their own language, and if their knowledge and their ideas about life and the world approximate our own, it is first and foremost due to the civilizing work of the missionaries. This work was begun by Hans Egede and his son Paul in the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The former, a poor Norwegian clergyman, succeeded in waking in Norway and Denmark in the year 1721 a proselytic and mercantile interest for Greenland and its inhabitants. This interest gained ground especially because it was hoped that there might be found some remains of the old Norse colonies in Greenland, about which there had been no accounts for about three centuries. Hans Egede managed to get to Greenland, and the natural conditions for communication with Europe brought about that the scene of his activity was laid in South Greenland in the district around Godthaab Fjord. The colony of Godthaab has ever since maintained its prerogative as the chief centre for the spreading of foreign civilization in Greenland.

At present, there are 12 Danish colonies up there, beside many small trading-places. At the colonies there are colonial managers and clergymen, shops and churches. Both at the colonies and at the small trading-places, there are native school-teachers, who besides taking charge of the instruction of the children, act as assistants to the Danish clergymen; they read the opening and closing prayers, play the organ etc. These so-called „kateket”'s (in Greenlandic in the singular *ajoque*) are trained at the seminaries in Godthaab and Jakobshavn, where they have to go through a course lasting from 4 to 5 years. Of foreign languages, they learn only Danish, which most of

them come to understand and speak pretty well. Some of them get so far as to be able to preach a Danish sermon. But they have not much use for this language, for all the instruction in the schools is conducted in Greenlandic. The Greenlanders seem to find great difficulty in learning to talk correct Danish; in all North Greenland, I only met with three or four of them who could speak it tolerably well.

At the Danish colonies, there are special school-houses. At the Eskimo settlements, the children come to the teacher in his private hut; the teacher here is generally an old seal-hunter, who likes to make a little extra income by teaching. Boys and girls go to school together, every day or every other day, with the usual vacations. They are taught reading, writing and arithmetic. Their handwriting is good, but they find great difficulty in learning to spell correctly according to Kleinschmidt's orthography, and likewise in learning arithmetic. They have Greenlandic text-books (*Atuainiutit* Vol. I—II), in which they are given the fundamental elements of geography, natural history, and the history of the world, besides biblical literature and the catechism — in short about the same information about the earth and its inhabitants as is imparted in the schools of the civilized world. — In their homes, they learn from those about them the Eskimo domestic customs and mode of living; the boys, for instance, learn to paddle a kajak and to use fire-arms and harpoons. Here they also become acquainted with the many traditions which have been handed down from heathen times and which we call superstitions. The tales are full of them. It is especially at the isolated settlements, where Europeans seldom come, that these national traditions still flourish and find room in the minds of the people along side of the ideas of Christianity. In these places — and they are the majority — the Danish Greenlanders still live in a strange confusion of posthumous heathendom and primitive Christianity.

The literature which is printed in the native language

is issued partly by printing-houses in Copenhagen, Haderslev, Stolpen, Bautzen etc., partly by the printing-house which was established at Godthaab (*Nook*) in South Greenland in 1861 and which is managed by a Greenlander. The nature of this literature testifies more to the perseverance of the Danish missionaries in grafting European enlightenment and ways of thinking on this primitive population than to any powers of literary production among the poor seal-hunters and fishermen themselves. Yet it is worth noticing that the Greenlanders like to write letters to each other, and that the most intelligent and enlightened of them often send articles to the Greenlandic "Illustrated News".

This publication bears the name *Atuagagdliutit* "something that is prepared to be read"; it is an illustrated monthly magazine which was started in 1861 by the printing-house in the colony of Godthaab; it is edited by a Greenlander and continues to appear every year. In it is to be found a good deal of information about the ethnography and folklore of the Greenlanders.

A collection of Greenlandic tales in the original language, with illustrations drawn by a Greenlander, has also been published by the printing-house in Greenland under the title *Kaladlit Okalluktualliait* (Vol. 1—4, 1859—1863).

The translations of the bible published under Danish auspices are:

P. Egede: *Evangelium okausek tussarnersok* (The four gospels) 1744. 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. 1758. — Ib. *Testamente nutak* (The new testament) 1766. — O. Fabricius (The new testament) 1799. — O. Fabricius and N. G. Wolff (The new testament) 1827. — P. Kragh (Parts of the old testament) 1829. 1832. 1836.

Samuel Kleinschmidt and H. F. Jørgensen: *Tastamantitâk* (The new testament) 1893. *Tastamantitokak* (The old testament) 1900.

S. Kleinschmidt has edited a geography (1858), a history of the world (1859), a church history (1873) and several other books in the Greenlandic language.

The new Greenlandic hymn-book contains 455 hymns and has the following title: *Kristumiut Tugsiautit erinagdlit erinakángitsutdlo. ilángússartagdlit.* (Kbh. 1885.)



PHONETIC INVESTIGATION  
OF THE NORTH GREENLANDIC LANGUAGE.

All the Eskimo words, and they only, are printed in italics.

## I. The articulation and system of the sounds.

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§ 1. It might be of linguistic interest to possess full information about the racial peculiarities of the Greenlanders' organs of speech, since it may be assumed that there is no little connection between such peculiarities and the characteristic quality of the sounds produced. But the only information of this kind that we have about the Greenlanders is what is to be found in works on their anthropological characteristics in general. The relations between the different races of the earth have seldom been investigated with the physiology of speech-sounds in view, nor has there been any such interest attached to the extensive anthropological research work which has been undertaken in Greenland. So much, however, may be said, that the Greenlander's organs of speech, like the rest of his body, are strongly built. The jaws especially are broad and heavy at the back and the teeth-rim is narrowly arched; the nose is unusually narrow\*), and the lips are thick and fleshy.

In the account of Sören Hansen's interesting anthropological investigations in West Greenland, attention is called to "the unusual breadth of the West Greenlander's lower jaw"\*\*) . This

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\*) Sören Hansen: Bidrag til Vestgrønlandernes Anthropologi. Meddelelser om Grønland 1893. Vol. VII, p. 232.

\*\*) u. s. p. 222.

breadth, however, "is not found in the teeth-rim, whose arch is comparatively narrow and compressed, determined, as it is, by the form of the palate, which is craniometrically expressed by the breadth-index of the palate-arch. This index, which, however, is known only from craniums, is low in the Greenlander. He is what is technically termed *leptostaphyline*, and when the breadth of the lower jaw is so great, it is exclusively due to a strong development of its hindmost part, to which the largest and strongest muscles are attached".

What is here stated about the West Greenlanders will undoubtedly be found to apply to the Eskimo race everywhere. If we may be permitted to draw conclusions as to the organs of articulation from their linguistic functions, the extensive use which the Eskimo makes of uvular ("guttural") sounds might lead us to assume that his inmost organs of articulation, especially the uvula and soft palate, are unusually strong. —

The task which I am to undertake in the following pages is a description of the sound-elements of the Greenlandic language together with the most essential positions of articulation for each sound. The basis for this account will be the phonetic lists already mentioned in the introduction. The meanings as well as the grammatical forms of the examples cited will for the present be left out of consideration.

Speech-sounds are produced when the air which is expelled from the lungs meets a certain resistance on its way through the mouth and is thereby brought into vibration. This may be caused first by a tightening of the vocal chords, then farther out by a narrowing of the mouth-passage, which may variously be brought about by action of the soft palate, the tongue, or the lips. The order in which the organs of speech come into action is accordingly this: lungs, vocal chords, soft palate, tongue, lips.



§ 2. The pure almost unimpeded breath is found but seldom as an independent speech-sound in Greenlandic. It is heard in laughter, in certain emphatic exclamations, and as an imitation of the auk's cry (cf. section on decoy-sounds). In the *Upernavik* District, I heard it in the interjection *ah'a*, which elsewhere in Greenland has the form *aρ'a*.

A stronger or milder degree of aspiration occurs, however, as a modifying element in connection with some of the consonants. The unvoiced fricatives [*ρ χ λ φ*] are produced by means of a vigorous exertion of the lungs and the diaphragm so that the expiration becomes audible. In the case of the stopped consonants (tenues), the matter is more complicated. Before the vowels [a o ɔ], the consonants *k t p* sound, as a rule, like the corresponding French tenues, that is, they have as little aspiration as possible. Before [i e u], on the other hand, these sounds are oftenest strongly aspirated. In [*kapa a't·a't pa*]<sup>1-3</sup>, their sound is about the same as in French *cas*, *tas*, *pas*, but they contain an h-element in [*ki<sup>vo</sup>φ·aq kɾwa·tikeq ipɾik*]<sup>4-7</sup>. In the first words, these sounds may be designated as voiceless g d b, in the last words, as *k<sup>h</sup> t<sup>h</sup> p<sup>h</sup>*.

Aspirated final consonants I have often heard in [*a'k<sup>h</sup>*]<sup>8</sup> and in other words ending in the same syllable, e. g. in a childish vocative form [*anana·k<sup>h</sup>*] (Niarq.) instead of *ana·naŋa*, my mother! Weak final aspiration is sometimes to be heard in [*a·p a·p<sup>h</sup>*], yes.

The activity of the lungs in the production of word-stress and the rhythm of the language, will be considered in another section.

§ 3. The open glottis positions (ε2 and ε3, cf. O. Jespersen, *Fonetik* § 253) are frequent in Greenlandic. The

<sup>1</sup> promontory <sup>2</sup> recent <sup>3</sup> the mouth of a river or a fjord <sup>4</sup> a servant  
<sup>5</sup> it bit him <sup>6</sup> the forefinger <sup>7</sup> a cliff <sup>8</sup> an exclamation used when one hands a person something.

widest open position may be supposed to occur at the formation of the aspirated consonants just mentioned, always in the case of the first four [ $\rho \chi \lambda \varphi$ ], and often in the case of the aspirated *tenués* [ $q k t p$ ].

Since all of these sounds are common in Greenlandic, and since they are frequently long, the language is characterized by a continual succession of voiced sounds and voiceless pauses. In the case of  $q k t p$  these pauses are absolute; in the case of the voiceless fricatives the soft whistling of the aspiration indicates audibly that the organs of speech are in activity and that expiration is not taking place without impediment.

The next widest opening of the glottis probably takes place frequently at the formation of the slightly aspirated *tenués* and also as a transition between a voiced and a following aspirated sound, as for instance between the vowel and the aspirated sound in words like [ $a\rho'w i\lambda'o i\varphi'it$ ]. It corresponds to the *h*-sound, which, as remarked, is of rare occurrence in Greenlandic, and also to the light vowel-aspiration with which the interjection [ $a'h$ ] and similar expressions of emotion may terminate.

The smallest possible opening of the glottis ( $\varepsilon 1$ ) is the one which is used in the formation of the voiced sounds; we shall return to this subject in § 4.

The complete collapse of the vocal chords with closure of the glottis — (Sweet: the glottal stop, the Danish “stød”, the  $\varepsilon 0$  of Jespersen; indicated by an apostrophe before or after the vowel) — occurs once in a while in Greenlandic, though only occasionally. I once heard a mother say [ $'\ddot{a} \cdot '\ddot{a}$ ] to her little child when it wanted to eat something that was too dirty. [ $na' 'a'h$ ] is an ordinary exclamation of pain when one hits or burns oneself. Likewise [ $aj\ddot{u}s\ddot{u}se'a$ ]<sup>\*</sup> (Arq.), how terrible it is! (scil. the cold).

\* ) From *ajus-use* (i. e. its terribleness) + *a*, an interjection.

§ 4. The voiced sounds in Greenlandic are: (1) the vowels, (2) the nasalized consonants, (3) the short fricatives [*r g l w*]. — Voiced mediæ (g, d, b) do not occur.

There seems to be most vocal force in combinations of sounds like [*rn, rŋ*] etc. Of the voiced consonants, the nasals [*m n ŋ*], especially when long, are more strongly and decidedly voiced than the others [*l r g w*], which become unvoiced when they are lengthened, as in the words:

<i>pulaw'oq</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>p'uł·āt</i> <sup>2</sup>
<i>nig'aq</i> <sup>3</sup>	<i>n'iχ·āt</i> <sup>4</sup>
<i>unī'arpa</i> <sup>5</sup>	<i>un'ep·aq</i> <sup>6</sup>
<i>iw'ik</i> <sup>7</sup>	<i>iφ·it</i> <sup>8</sup>

But even when short, these fricatives may sometimes be unvoiced in words where they generally are voiced, as in:

*sule*<sup>9</sup> *ila*<sup>10</sup> *iluanik*<sup>11</sup> *a·rit*<sup>12</sup> etc.

Unvoiced vowels (whispered vowels) I heard quite often, especially as finals, and especially among old people. I frequently heard [*kʰsʝän·le*] with a whispered [*kʰs*] instead of [*kisi'än·le*]<sup>13</sup>.

On the whole, the Greenlanders speak with a clear strong voice, and, as far as the men are concerned, with a deep chest voice.

The contrast between the voiceless and the most strongly voiced sounds is very distinctly heard.

§ 5. The soft palate with the uvula is of notable significance for the production of sounds in the Eskimo language.

In the first place, the soft palate is used, as in other languages, for nasalizing, and it is frequently in use for this

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<sup>1</sup> he (she, it) slips in <sup>2</sup> a trap <sup>3</sup> a snare <sup>4</sup> do. in the plural <sup>5</sup> he drags it along the ground <sup>6</sup> track of a trailed aquatic animal <sup>7</sup> grass <sup>8</sup> do. in the plural <sup>9</sup> yet <sup>10</sup> yes, of course! <sup>11</sup> its interior (instrumental) <sup>12</sup> now you can see! <sup>13</sup> but.

purpose both in connection with consonants and vowels. The nasalizing activity is not only constant in the formation of certain sounds (*n m ŋ ɲ*), but is apt to spread to adjacent sounds. *rn* becomes *ɾ̃n*; *arn* even becomes *ãɾ̃n*: likewise *rm* and *rɲ* become *ɾ̃m* and *ɾ̃ɲ*, with constant nasalizing of the preceding vowel. In the case of many individuals, this tendency to nasalize is due to a mild degree of snuffling.

I found that this physiological peculiarity was very common everywhere. In certain districts, it is undoubtedly of linguistic importance because it causes nasalizing of sounds which in other districts are not nasalized, for instance, of *r* in the *Omwanaq* and *Upernavik* districts, of *q* everywhere in North-Greenland, occasionally of *t*, which thereby passes into *n*, and of *w*, which thereby passes into *m* (e. g. *iwna* > *imna*<sup>1</sup>).

There is one word which is produced without any other articulation than voice-position + nasal resonance. Whereas "yes" elsewhere is expressed by *ap*, in the *Upernavik* dialect this word is often replaced by a simple nasal sound [*ŋ*] or [*m*], uttered with falling intonation, a word of the utmost phonetic simplicity\*).

Within the limits of the constant sounds of the Greenlandic sound-system, it is remarkable to observe that, whereas long unvoiced and short voiced consonants often occur with mouth-resonance, there are no long voiced consonants with mouth-resonance. In other words, only those voiced consonants which occur with nasal resonance [*m n ŋ ɲ*] may be long. Therefore

\*) I may yet add that the word for "no" — *naʔu* — is often accompanied by a grimace, a wrinkling of the nose, which either has no signification or merely intensifies the negation, for it does not necessarily indicate any displeasure. Very often too the word is accompanied by shaking of the head. Likewise the already mentioned interjection [*ʔä*] and another interjection [*äʔ*], both of them expressions of disgust, are uttered with open, slightly vibrating lips, and are accompanied by shaking of the head and wrinkling of the nose.

<sup>1</sup> he over yonder.



when a long consonant in a word has originated from two short ones, of which one was a voiced sound and none was nasalized, the long one has either become voiced and nasalized ( $a\cdot p\text{-}q\text{ } \circ\text{ } q > a.^w\eta\text{ } \circ\text{ } q$ , yes is said) or unvoiced and aspirated ( $i\text{ } w\lambda\text{ } it\text{-}lo > i\text{ } w\lambda\text{ } i\lambda\text{ } o$ , and you; cf. *unalo*, and he).

§ 6. Here already at the rear entrance to the mouth-passage is the place where the first group of Greenlandic consonants are produced. The Greenlander forms some of the most typical sounds of his language by means of the soft palate, the uvula and the root of the tongue, the same organs which produce the unpleasant sounds of snoring and hawking. When these inmost parts of the mouth meet and are firmly pressed against each other, the root of the tongue being shoved back and up, there is formed the articulation closure for that peculiar uvular tenuis (explosive) which again and again occurs in the language, and which in ordinary Greenlandic literature is indicated by a special letter:  $\kappa$ , in phonetical works by the sign:  $q$  (analph.  $\gamma^{0kl}$ ).

All the inner part of the mouth-passage is drawn back and up toward the back of the fauces, whereby the space in that part of the mouth seems to become larger. When the root of the tongue is shoved back for the closure, the whole tongue is thereby drawn back, and its upper surface, with the exception of the very point, is apt to become concave or shovel-formed with the middle part lowered. When the stop is broken by the force of the outgoing air, there is heard a short, creaking or rattling sound, which seems to proceed from as great a depth in the mouth-passage as a consonant-sound ever can come. It seems to be entirely destitute of sonority, and is most like the noise made by two stones that are suddenly scraped against each other. As soon as the outgoing air has broken its way, the muscles are relaxed and the soft palate, the uvula, and the

tongue all return to their natural positions. Examples are:

[qagʷaq] <sup>1</sup> [qoqaʷq] <sup>2</sup> [qaʷ] <sup>3</sup> [qeqertaq] <sup>4</sup> [qerqʷaq] <sup>5</sup>  
 [quaraq] <sup>6</sup> [aʷq] <sup>7</sup> [qaqʷrɔpɔq] <sup>8</sup> [qiseq] <sup>9</sup> [qipɔqʷaq] <sup>10</sup>  
 [qaqeqʷaqʷrɔpɔq] <sup>11</sup>.

The fricative which corresponds to *q* is [r], anaph.  $\gamma^2$ <sup>k or l</sup> or  $\gamma^2$  i. e. an untrilled r. I observed no uvular trill\*). The sound must not be confused with the ordinary point-r (the English r) with which it has nothing in common. It has more resemblance to the French and German back-r (anaph.  $\gamma^2$ <sup>j</sup>) when untrilled, and especially to the Danish r ( $\gamma^2$ <sup>k, l</sup>\*\*), because it is produced by friction just as far back in the mouth, right by the back of the fauces. The point of the tongue rests passive behind the lower teeth. Still the Greenlandic r is different from the Danish r in that its articulation is tenser, more energetic, the sound accordingly more consonantal, and generally more protracted. It is worth noticing that whereas the uvular r found in Indo-European languages is a reduced point-r, the Greenlandic r has never been articulated at the point of the tongue, but seems rather to be a reduced *q*. This origin also explains why the sound lacks the uvular trill. Besides it must be remarked that the Greenlandic r is variable in tenseness of articulation. It seems to be tensest when it is followed by *q* and prepares as it were the convulsively firm closure of this sound. Examples are:

[erqaʷ] <sup>12</sup> [aʷrqat] <sup>13</sup> [sarqaq] <sup>14</sup> [arqarλune] <sup>15</sup> [arqiλʷoŋo] <sup>16</sup>

*rq* is probably nothing but a modified form of long [*q*].

\*) With the single exception of [ersiqʷatʷut] (R = trilled r), which I find among my notes from the Egedesminde district.

\*\*) Jespersen, Fonetik § 319 and 214.

<sup>1</sup> a mountain <sup>2</sup> the shadow which the land casts on the water <sup>3</sup> the surface <sup>4</sup> an island <sup>5</sup> seaweed <sup>6</sup> a bunch of flowers <sup>7</sup> a sleeve <sup>8</sup> is white <sup>9</sup> spit <sup>10</sup> a kind of whale <sup>11</sup> it (the ptarmigan) is screeching <sup>12</sup> its neighborhood <sup>13</sup> gloves <sup>14</sup> the sunny side <sup>15</sup> descending <sup>16</sup> mending it.

There is, on the whole, firm and forcible articulation whenever the *r* precedes a consonant, as in:

[sarɕaq]<sup>1</sup> [qarsaq]<sup>2</sup> [arsarnɛrit]<sup>3</sup> [arsaq]<sup>4</sup> [qarsɔrsaq]<sup>5</sup>  
[arɕaː]<sup>6</sup> [nerɫeq]<sup>7</sup>.

But when the *r* stands alone between vowels without being lengthened, a case that is less common, the friction seems to be lighter: [mamaraːra]<sup>8</sup> [neriwɔq]<sup>9</sup>; in the interjection [aːrit]<sup>10</sup> there is often an unvoiced, mildly aspirated *r* to be heard.

As a rule *r* (and *r*) appears to be voiced, most decidedly before *q*, but also before aspirated consonants when the *r* is preceded by a long vowel, as in: [qarɕɔq]<sup>11</sup> [aːrluk]<sup>12</sup>. After a short vowel, the voicing quickly disappears.

Long *r* between vowels is always unvoiced, has strong friction and is modified by strong aspiration, which is probably accompanied by an uvular trill (inaudible). The aspiration is especially forcible at the last moment, before voice begins with the following vowel and the glottis is tightened. The transition from aspiration to voice takes place suddenly and rapidly.

I shall designate the aspirated *r*, like the other aspirated consonants, by a Greek letter [ρ]. Examples are:

[maρaq]<sup>13</sup> [naρoɕaː]<sup>14</sup> [eρɔρλoηo]<sup>15</sup> [qǎρút]<sup>16</sup>

The point of the tongue remains passive at the formation of this sound as at the formation of the short *r*.

[ρː] is in the Upernavik district replaced by [qː] or [rq], as in:

[marqaq]<sup>17</sup> for [maρaq]  
[arqːsumik]<sup>18</sup> for [aρːtumik] etc.

<sup>1</sup> stream, current   <sup>2</sup> loon (a bird)   <sup>3</sup> aurora borealis   <sup>4</sup> a ball   <sup>5</sup> fish-hook  
<sup>6</sup> the outer edge of the hand   <sup>7</sup> a goose   <sup>8</sup> I like it (scil. the food)   <sup>9</sup> he is eating  
<sup>10</sup> now you can see!   <sup>11</sup> it is bursting   <sup>12</sup> *delphinus orca*  
<sup>13</sup> clay   <sup>14</sup> he despises him   <sup>15</sup> to wash it   <sup>16</sup> a talus   <sup>17</sup> clayey soil  
<sup>18</sup> slowly.

In [erqərλoŋo], then, two different words coincide in the Upernavik dialect; it means both: "to hit the mark" (in shooting) and "to wash it"; the latter has the form [eɖərλoŋo] in the neighboring dialect to the south.

Nasalization, constant or occasional, frequently sets in in combination with these positions of the soft palate, except in the case of *ρ*.

When two or more *r*-sounds meet around intervening vowels, the whole sound-group may easily be modified by a mild degree of nasalization so that it gets to sound snuffled, as in:

[more:rsit]<sup>1</sup> [nɛrere:rame]<sup>2</sup>

This nasalization seems to be merely a consequence of the power of inertia. When the *r*-friction takes place loosely and feebly, the back of the tongue fails to shove the soft palate all the way up against the rear of the pharynx and close the nose-passage.

The positions of articulation of the *q*- and *r*-sounds are in reality closely related to the open position of the soft palate which produces nasalization, a fact which is also apparent from the alphabetical symbols for the positions:  $q = \gamma^0k$ ,  $r = \gamma^{2k}$ , nasalization =  $\partial^{2k}$  or  $3^k$ , where *k* indicates the corresponding points of contact or approximation on the soft palate and on the back of the tongue.

It is therefore worth noticing that whereas consonant combinations otherwise are pretty rare in Greenlandic, yet the *r*-sound frequently stands before a nasal consonant. In these groups, the *r* becomes nasalized (the last part of the sound at all events), and in fact not only the *r*, but very often the preceding vowel too, as in:

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<sup>1</sup> a grindstone    <sup>2</sup> after he had eaten.





In all of these cases I presume that the soft palate itself takes active part in the formation of a firm closure with its lower edge against the back of the tongue. The outgoing air can therefore suddenly force its way as if with an explosion, which is the reason why this sound from the acoustic point of view is more apt to remind one of the unnasalized stopped sounds (*q k* etc.) than nasals do as a rule.

§ 7. I have lingered long at the inmost part of the mouth because the sounds there produced are so very important for the Greenlandic language and for the comprehension of its whole phonetic basis (also for the vowel system). To sum up: there is a nasalized voiced stopped consonant  $\eta^*$ , an unvoiced stopped consonant *q*, a voiced fricative *r*, and an unvoiced aspirated fricative *ρ*.

This sound-series may serve as a prototype for all the remaining Greenlandic consonants. There is a striking conformity between these four uvular consonants and all the rest of the consonant-system. In the path of the outgoing air there are still three places where friction or closure takes place: the first is that portion of the palate that corresponds to the back part of the tongue ( $\gamma^{j-h}$ ); the second, the place behind the teeth ( $\beta^{f-d}$ ) which is the field of activity for the point of the tongue (*β*); the third is the lips (*α*). At each of these places, the Greenlander produces sounds both by closure and friction, just as at the inner entrance to the mouth-passage, and these sounds may be modified by the same means which operated there, namely: voice, breath, nasalization.

We may accordingly draw up the following consonant-system for the Greenlandic language as a whole:

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<sup>\*</sup>) I consider the nasal sounds to be the most primitive speech-sounds, because at their formation the soft palate rests passive, and I therefore place them first in the system.

		rear of the mouth (uvula)	back tongue	point tongue	lips	
Stopped Consonants	{	$\eta$	$\eta$	$n$	$m$	voiced
		$q$	$k$	$t$	$p$	voiceless
Fricatives	{	$r$	$g$	$j$ $l$	$w$	voiced
		$\rho$	$\chi$	$s$ $\lambda$	$\varphi$	voiceless

The Greenlandic language, then, appears to have developed a stock of 18 consonants, which with amazing regularity may be arranged in a fourfold system according to the four fields of articulation. The series of uvular sounds, which is either lacking or very incomplete in the languages of civilization, occurs here just as complete as the other sound-series.

In the following pages, I shall describe the positions and processes of articulation of the above mentioned consonants in the various vowel environments in which they may occur. It is not my intention to treat this subject exhaustively; I cite only some of those cases which I myself have observed.

The key-words are always cited in such an order that those illustrating sounds produced farthest back in the mouth come first, those illustrating sounds produced farther front, last.

The uvular consonants [ $\eta$   $q$   $r$   $\rho$ ] are all articulated at about the same point ( $\gamma^{kl}$ ), at the inner threshold of the mouth-chamber, and are always articulated there in whatever vowel-combination they happen to stand.

## § 8. The back consonants [ $k$ $\eta$ $g$ $\chi$ ].

These sounds are difficult to observe without risking a change in the natural position of the mouth, which has to be held open in order to let the light in. The field of articulation is thereby shoved farther back or down toward the soft palate

than when the same sounds are produced with the usual position of articulation. and consequently we must suppose that those articulations which I thus observed in the wide open mouth are in natural speech formed somewhat farther forward. Still I believe that I am not far wrong in the following back tongue positions, and I may especially emphasize that the relation between them may be considered in all essentials correct.

The Roman numerals (p. 83) indicate the individual Greenlanders whose positions of articulation I have examined (v. p. 8). When no Roman numeral is given, it means that the articulation indicated is representative for the average of a number of single observations noted on my phonetical lists.

*k* before [*ɛ*] in [*kɛsa*]<sup>1</sup> and similar words is often, if not always, slightly palatalized or front-modified. A labialized *k* (with rounding of the lips) I found in Upernavik, where the word [*kɛ<sup>w</sup>ɸaq*]<sup>2</sup> was pronounced [*kɛ<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup>aq*].

*ŋ* in the combination *rŋ* may doubtless often be attracted all the way to the edge of the soft palate so that the sound becomes identical with the previously discussed [*ŋ*] (p. 79), as in:

[*merŋɔrɔɔq*]<sup>3</sup> [*erŋerlune*]<sup>4</sup> [*erŋɛn'aq*]<sup>5</sup> [*erŋutaq*]<sup>6</sup> [*erŋit*]<sup>7</sup>  
[*nerŋit*]<sup>8</sup>

It is strange that all of these words with the exception of *merŋɔrɔɔq* are just as often to be heard in other forms with *rn* (*rm*) instead of *rŋ*, e. g.: [*ernerlune*] [*ernɛn'aq*] [*ernutaq*] etc. In [*nerŋit*] the *ŋ* has even wandered all the way from the lips, since the original form is [*nermit*]. These double forms of the same words are no doubt used side by side in North Greenland, but *rŋ* (*rŋ*) is said to be especially North Greenlandic, *rn* (also) South Greenlandic.

<sup>1</sup> finally    <sup>2</sup> servant, housemaid    <sup>3</sup> becomes weak    <sup>4</sup> immediately    <sup>5</sup> = <sup>6</sup>  
<sup>6</sup> grandchild    <sup>7</sup> water, seas    <sup>8</sup> bonds, bands, strings.



[k]

[kuk'aq]<sup>1</sup> k<sup>1</sup> =  $\gamma 0^{i(i)}$  k<sup>2</sup> =  $\gamma 0^{i(k)}$ q =  $\gamma 0^k$ [kuják]<sup>2</sup> IV k<sup>1</sup> =  $\gamma 0^{ij}$  k<sup>2</sup> =  $\gamma 0^i$ V  $\gamma 0^{ji}$  VI  $\gamma 0^j$  XX  $\gamma 0^{ij(j)}$ [kukik]<sup>3</sup> k<sup>1</sup> =  $\gamma 0^{i(ji?)}$  k<sup>2 or 3</sup> =  $\gamma 0^i$ [kã<sup>w</sup>k]<sup>4</sup> VIII [ka<sup>·2</sup>wa]  $\gamma 0^{ji}$ [ukv'ɔq]<sup>5</sup>  $\gamma 0^{ji(i?)}$ [ak'a]<sup>6</sup>  $\gamma 0^{ij}$  or  $j$ , V, VI, VIII,IX  $\gamma 0^i$  XVIII, XIX, XX  $\gamma 0^{ij}$ [kák'a·k]<sup>7</sup> V  $\gamma 0^{ji}$  k<sup>3</sup> =  $\gamma 0^{jk}$ XVIII k<sup>1</sup> =  $\gamma 0^i$  k<sup>2</sup> =  $\gamma 0^j$  k<sup>3</sup>=  $\gamma 0^{jk}$ [kák'ik]<sup>8</sup> k<sup>1</sup> =  $\gamma 0^{ij}$  k<sup>2</sup> =  $\gamma 0^{i(h)}$ [ajɔrnakã<sup>w</sup>s'aqa'ɔq]<sup>9</sup>  $\gamma 0^{ij}$ [ák or ákh]<sup>10</sup>  $\gamma 0^{ij}$  XIX [a'kh]  $\gamma 0^{ji}$ [katák]<sup>11</sup>  $\gamma 0^{ij}$ [ukr'wɔq]<sup>12</sup>  $\gamma 0^{i}$  or  $ih$ [kiv'aq or kiv'w'aq]<sup>13</sup> IV [kiv'-k<sup>w</sup>aq]  $\gamma 0^{hi?}$ [kr'wa]<sup>14</sup>  $\gamma 0$  or  $01^{hi}$ [kr'sa]<sup>15</sup>  $\gamma 0$  or  $01^{hi}$ 

[ŋ]

[ɔrŋ'it]<sup>16</sup> XX  $\gamma 0^{kj}$  (or  $k?$ )[qa'ŋ'erλ'ono]<sup>17</sup> IX  $\gamma 0^{j(ji?)}$  VI,VIII, XIV  $\gamma 0^{jk?}$  X, XIX  $\gamma 0^{ijk?}$ [qaŋa]<sup>18</sup>  $\gamma 0^j$ [aŋak'ɔq]<sup>19</sup>  $\gamma 0^j$ [aŋ'a]<sup>20</sup>  $\gamma 0^{ji?}$  VI  $\gamma 0^j$ [aŋa<sup>·</sup>]<sup>21</sup>  $\gamma 0^{ij}$  IV  $\gamma 0^j$ [naŋ'a'wɔq]<sup>22</sup>  $\gamma 0^{ij?}$ [k'áŋi'a]<sup>23</sup>  $\gamma 0^{ij}$ [aŋeq'a<sup>·</sup>]<sup>24</sup>  $\gamma 0^{ij?}$ [i<sup>w</sup>ŋ'ertut]<sup>25</sup>  $\gamma 0^{ij}$ [k'ŋ'uwɔq or k'ŋuwɔq]<sup>26</sup> IV $\gamma 0^{ih}$  VIII, X, XIX, XX  $\gamma 0^{ij}$  (or  $i?$ )

[g].

I had frequently heard this sound in conversations with a South Greenlander with whom I associated in Copenhagen before my departure, and since it is also usual in the current Greenlandic orthography and in the available text-books, I of

<sup>1</sup> remains of chewed meat which have become fastened between the teeth

<sup>2</sup> the loins, the rump <sup>3</sup> nail (finger or toe) <sup>4</sup> the walrus's hide <sup>5</sup> a year

<sup>6</sup> his uncle <sup>7</sup> (exclamation of surprise) <sup>8</sup> snot <sup>9</sup> it is damned difficult

<sup>10</sup> please <sup>11</sup> the inner housedoor <sup>12</sup> he is wintering <sup>13</sup> servant <sup>14</sup> it bit

him <sup>15</sup> finally <sup>16</sup> the armpits <sup>17</sup> surpassing it <sup>18</sup> when? <sup>19</sup> angakoq,

a heathen priest <sup>20</sup> her brother's child <sup>21</sup> uncle (mother's brother)

<sup>22</sup> he is in doubt <sup>23</sup> the nearest neighboring part of the inland <sup>24</sup> is it big?

<sup>25</sup> songs from the heathen age <sup>26</sup> upsets (intr.).

course expected to find it in the language, and had prepared a list of key-words containing this sound-symbol. But I had not been long in North Greenland before I began to realize that the sound *g* there leads merely a parasitic existence. It is to be heard occasionally, but in most words where it is expected, the sound *ŋ* is heard instead. I have therefore determined to regard it as an irregular sound, and to use *ŋ* throughout. When my private notes expressly have *g*, however, I retain this symbol.

The words in my *g*-list, then, assume the following forms, where *ŋ* is everywhere substituted for the South Greenlandic *g*:

[qagŋo] <sup>1</sup> γ0 <sup>ji</sup> or j	[ajaŋaq] <sup>2</sup> γ0 <sup>ji</sup>
[poŋotaq] <sup>3</sup> γ0 <sup>ij?</sup>	[kiaŋ <sup>1</sup> upɔq] <sup>4</sup> γ0 <sup>ij</sup> or ji
[asaŋaŋa] <sup>5</sup> γ0 <sup>i</sup> or ij	[na <sup>k</sup> ŋa] <sup>6</sup> γ0 <sup>i</sup>
[ŋ <sup>1</sup> ip <sup>a</sup> ] <sup>7</sup> γ0 <sup>i</sup>	[ŋa] <sup>8</sup> XI γ0 <sup>i</sup>
[panŋa] <sup>9</sup> γ0 <sup>ih</sup>	[eŋa.ɛ] <sup>10</sup> γ0 <sup>ih</sup> or hi
[ɔrŋŋa] <sup>11</sup> XI γ0 <sup>hi</sup>	[pŋŋŋa] <sup>12</sup> XI γ0 <sup>h</sup> (bg <sup>?</sup> )

Other examples are:

[na <sup>1</sup> laŋaq] <sup>13</sup>	[asaŋa <sup>w</sup> k <sup>1</sup> it] <sup>14</sup>	[atɔrloŋo] <sup>15</sup>	[oq <sup>1</sup> arɕŋ <sup>1</sup> a] <sup>16</sup>
[uŋ <sup>1</sup> aq], plur. [u <sup>1</sup> iχ <sup>1</sup> ä <sup>1</sup> t] <sup>17</sup>	[ul <sup>1</sup> ik <sup>1</sup> ar <sup>1</sup> loŋit] <sup>18</sup>	[q <sup>1</sup> u <sup>1</sup> oŋi <sup>1</sup> v <sup>1</sup> aq] <sup>19</sup>	
[aŋi <sup>1</sup> aq] <sup>20</sup> .			

All of these words are in South Greenland pronounced with the fricative *g* in the place of *ŋ*. Yet there are also plenty of words in South Greenlandic where the sound *ŋ* is used. [asaŋaŋa] is in South Greenland pronounced [asaŋaŋa].

Wherever I came in North Greenland I had the same experience. When I asked a Greenlandic to repeat the word *na<sup>1</sup>laŋaq* or *iga*, he always answered me with [na<sup>1</sup>laŋaq] [ŋa<sup>1</sup>], accordingly with the nasalized stopped consonant in place of the unnasalized

<sup>1</sup> when (in the future)?   <sup>2</sup> a kind of toy (cup and ball)   <sup>3</sup> plate   <sup>4</sup> he is warm   <sup>5</sup> he loving me   <sup>6</sup> he pities him   <sup>7</sup> he throws it away   <sup>8</sup> his pot  
<sup>9</sup> my daughter   <sup>10</sup> the inner wall of a Greenlandic house   <sup>11</sup> the one (or the thing) that he went up to   <sup>12</sup> I who own it   <sup>13</sup> lord, master   <sup>14</sup> I love you  
<sup>15</sup> to use it   <sup>16</sup> he says to him   <sup>17</sup> bird-gin   <sup>18</sup> to fill them   <sup>19</sup> worm  
<sup>20</sup> violin.

fricative. The same peculiarity repeats itself in my memoranda of tales and songs from all the places which I visited. But still there remains the curious fact that I almost everywhere observed single exceptions to the rule — setting aside the “kateket”’s and the half-Danish population — even among the “real” Greenlanders.

Of the key-words on the *g*-list, *X* and *XX* pronounced the word *igai* [*ɛgaɪ*] with  $\gamma^{2i}$  = a back tongue fricative, *XI*, the words *pigigiga* and *kiagugpoq* [*pɪgɪgɪga*] [*kiagupɔq*] with  $\gamma^2$  or at all events a very loose stop, whereas the same individuals in all the other words used exclusively *η*. And they were even apt to nasalize the fricative *g*. But these very few exceptions are the only ones I know of. Otherwise the sound *η* was used everywhere instead of *g* in the key-words on my phonetic lists.

From the rest of my notes, however, I can mention still more examples of words with *g*, fewest from the northern districts, but more from Disko Bay, where *g*, at all events nasalized, may be said to be right common, and is in some words used interchangeably with *η*. Farther south (Egedesminde District), *η* again seemed to predominate. In some cases I found it impossible to decide whether I had heard a [*η*] or a [*ḡ*] (nasalized), for instance in

[*qumil̥oḡo*] or [*qumil̥ono*], [*tiḡuwa*] or [*tiḡuwa*] etc.

But all these sporadic cases of *g* are of little significance as against the wide-spread and prevailing use of *η* in the same words and by the same individuals. Therefore I think I come nearest the truth when I say that the sound [*η*], the nasalized stopped consonant, is throughout the whole of North Greenland well on the way to supplant [*g*], the corresponding fricative, and indeed in most places already has done so. This sound-change is probably connected with the usual propensity for snuffling. Only the native “kateket”’s and those Greenlanders who imitate their language made an effort to pronounce the words “correctly” with *g*.

On account of my own uncertainty in some cases as to whether it was  $\eta$  or a nasalized  $q$  that I heard, I think I have reason to suppose that there may still occasionally be a slight difference between the  $\eta$  which is original in a number of words and that  $\eta$  which is a nasalized development of  $q$  and which is now gradually establishing itself. Then the difference must be that the original  $\eta$  is formed with a firm closure ( $\gamma 0$ ), the new  $\eta$ , with a looser closure ( $\gamma 1$ ).

That  $q$  and not  $\eta$  is the original sound in the words with the  $\gamma 1$ -form is evident from the plural form of such words as [ni $\eta$ a $q$ ], plur. [ni $\chi$ 'ät], where  $\chi$  is merely a long aspirated  $q$ , and from the relationship between words like [u $\eta$ a], a pot, and [i $\chi$ 'awik], a kitchen (the pot-place). Besides most of the dialects outside of Greenland seem to have  $q$  in these words just as in South Greenlandic.

Whether the sporadic occurrence of  $q$  in North Greenland is due to the fact that this sound has not yet passed entirely into  $\eta$ , or whether it is due to the fact that the "kateket"s, who have studied at the seminary in South Greenland, try to impress on the school children that this is the more correct or finer sound (because the Danish missionaries use it), must remain an open question (cf. § 31 on dialects in Greenland). I have got the impression that the latter circumstance has had some influence in preventing the sound-change from being adopted by all individuals in North Greenland.

# [ $\chi$ ].

Greenlandic  $\chi = \gamma 2^1$  or  $j$ .

[u $\chi$ 'ornaqa <sup>2</sup> $q$ ] <sup>1</sup>	$\gamma 2^j$
[a $\chi$ 'ert $\omega$ $q$ ] <sup>2</sup> [miä $\chi$ 'rpa $q$ ] <sup>3</sup>	$\gamma 2^{ji}$ or $ij$
[sa $\chi$ 'a $q$ ] <sup>4</sup>	$\gamma 2^1$ or $1j$
[na $\chi$ 'a] <sup>5</sup>	$\gamma 2^i$

<sup>1</sup> that is vexatious    <sup>2</sup> one who is approaching    <sup>3</sup> it (the dog) is howling

<sup>4</sup> a thin-haired seal-skin    <sup>5</sup> no.



Cf. German\*) ch in ich =  $\gamma^2^g$  or  $gh$ , echt =  $\gamma^2^h$ , ach =  $\gamma^2^{i \text{ or } ij}$ ,  
 Spanish\*) j in Juan, Jeres =  $\gamma^2^i$ , Florentine Italian\*) c  
 in la casa =  $\gamma^2^i$

$\chi$  is an aspirated consonant that stands in the same relation to  $g$  as  $\rho$  to  $r$ . Its place of articulation, as in the case of the German ch, depends very much upon the surrounding vowel-sounds. Between back vowels, it lies rather farther back in the mouth than the corresponding German sound; between front vowels it may probably be drawn forward to the point: h (the highest point of the palate-arch) as in: [ $ni^w\chi o$ ]<sup>1</sup> [ $i\chi ia$ ]<sup>2</sup>.

In Upernavik, this sound is not used, but is replaced by the corresponding stopped consonant (lengthened). At the same time the preceding vowel is in a strange manner postpalatalized, i. e. the back part of the tongue, as in the case of  $g$ , lays itself slowly up against a large portion of the palate ( $\gamma^{i-h}$ ) as if to prepare the k-closure. Ex.: [ $n\acute{a}ka$ ] for [ $na\chi a$ ]<sup>3</sup>, [ $\acute{a}k\text{er}p\acute{o}q$ ] for [ $a\chi\text{er}p\acute{o}q$ ]<sup>4</sup>, [ $s\acute{a}k\acute{a}q$ ]<sup>5</sup>, [ $mi\acute{a}k\text{er}p\acute{o}q$ ]<sup>6</sup>, [ $uk\text{er}naqa\text{er}p\acute{o}q$ ]<sup>7</sup> etc.

## § 9. Front consonants [ $j$ s].

Greenlandic  $j$  =  $\gamma^2$  or  $3^g$  (gh, gt).

Cf. French\*): pillar  $\gamma^2$  hier [ $j\text{æ}r$ ]  $\gamma^{23}$  travail, bataille [ $\text{trava}j$ ,  $\text{bata}j$ ]  $\gamma^3^g$  or  $34^g$ .

English\*): yard, you  $\gamma^{23^g}$  or  $3^g$ , Danish\*): ja, jubel = English [ $j$ ].

German\*): ja, jugend  $\gamma^2^g$ .

The Greenlandic  $j$ -sound may in general be said to be produced by a light friction of the whole front of the tongue against the palate-arch.

\*) Jespersen: Fonetik §§ 211—213.

<sup>1</sup> slime of fish    <sup>2</sup> his throat    <sup>3</sup> no    <sup>4</sup> he approaches    <sup>5</sup> a thin-haired skin  
<sup>6</sup> it is howling (the dog)    <sup>7</sup> he is vexed because he failed.

The sound resembles the English [j] (yard, you) in words like [aja<sup>\*</sup>]<sup>1</sup>, [ajuag]<sup>2</sup>, [ajanaq]<sup>3</sup>, [kujāk]<sup>4</sup>, or is drawn a little farther back, as, for instance, in [qajaq]<sup>5</sup> =  $\gamma 3^{zh}$ , [aqa<sup>\*</sup>ja]<sup>6</sup> etc. In other combinations, on the other hand, it is produced farther front in the mouth with that part of the tongue which lies just behind the blade and opposite to the arch-rim (alveolars), as in [nāja<sup>\*</sup>]<sup>7</sup>, perhaps also in [pɲajuat]<sup>8</sup>, accordingly  $\gamma 2^{st}$ . In several instances, I observed that the point of the tongue was slightly raised toward the lower edge of the upper teeth, and likewise that the back of the tongue was slightly grooved or shovel-formed.

*j* is generally found only between back vowels. There is an audible difference between [pujāk]<sup>9</sup> where *j* =  $\gamma 23^g$ , and [puiaq or puiaq]<sup>10</sup>, where the sound is entirely vocalic ( $\gamma 34^g$ ).

$$\text{Greenlandic } [s \text{ } \zeta] = \begin{cases} 1) \beta 1^d \gamma 1^{fe} \text{ (or } \beta 13^d \gamma 13^{fe}) \\ 2) \beta \text{ " } \gamma 1^{fg} \text{ (or } \beta \text{ " } \gamma 12^g) \\ 3) \beta 13^e \gamma 23^t \text{ (or } \beta 13^{ef} \gamma 23^{fg}) \end{cases}$$

Cf. French, Icelandic, Færoic<sup>\*</sup>) *s* =  $\beta 1^{ef}$ .

Danish, German<sup>\*</sup>) *s* =  $\beta 1^{fe}$ , German *sch* [ʃ] =  $\alpha 5^a \gamma 12^t$ .

English<sup>\*</sup>) *s* =  $\beta 1^f$ , English *sh* [ʃ] =  $\gamma 1^{fg}$ .

The North Greenlandic *s*-sounds are rather variable and are therefore difficult to determine.

*s* no. 1 (*ts*): distinct point-sound, the point of the tongue being raised so that it rests just back of the lower edge of the upper teeth; narrow groove, high natural pitch. The sound is always short. It occurs most in the combination *ts*, as in [nāt-seq]<sup>11</sup> (cf. section on *t*-sound p. 92).

<sup>\*</sup>) Jespersen: Fonetik §§ 192 and 208.

<sup>1</sup> aunt <sup>2</sup> a boil <sup>3</sup> a toy, cup and ball <sup>4</sup> loins <sup>5</sup> kajak <sup>6</sup> the lower part of the abdomen <sup>7</sup> his younger sister <sup>8</sup> the third <sup>9</sup> oxidized blubber <sup>10</sup> a bird's crop <sup>11</sup> ringed seal (*phoca fætida*).

s no. 2 [ç]: front of the tongue protruded, the point passive and lowered, the middle of the tongue raised, broad groove, slightly š-like quality, aspirated.

Ex.: [qä<sup>w</sup>çʳt]<sup>1</sup> [çʳt or çʳt]<sup>2</sup> [açʳt or aç.ɪ.t]<sup>3</sup> [aluç.a<sup>w</sup>t]<sup>4</sup> [a<sup>w</sup>çaq]<sup>5</sup> [çäʳ]<sup>6</sup>.

The [ç] is formed differently from the European s- and š-sounds (Eng. sh, French ch, German sch, etc.). The point of the tongue rests passive against the back of the lower teeth, and the middle (and back?) of the tongue is somewhat raised. The groove stretches over a large portion of the surface of the front part of the tongue. The sound is loosely articulated. A chief characteristic of the articulation is the raising of the middle of the tongue; I think the sound can be said to be slightly postalatalized. This palatalization is, however, not like the Russian one: there is no *j*-element to be heard at the end of the consonant, but the preceding vowel is most often influenced by it: [ä'ç, ö'ç]. — The sound has a rather high natural pitch because its place of articulation is so far front. It is, however, very variable both with respect to the palatalization or the š-element and the natural pitch; the š-quality sometimes disappears when the articulation becomes tenser under the influence of adjacent sounds (thus we get β<sup>d</sup>: the point of the tongue raised and stretched toward the lower edge of the upper teeth); and the natural pitch is sometimes lowered when the body of the tongue is drawn back by an adjacent back sound. These variations may in large measure occur indiscriminately in the same words and to a certain degree seem to depend upon the speaker's individual peculiarities.

s no. 3 (rs): the blade of the tongue somewhat drawn back, narrow groove, lower natural pitch, similar to the English and

<sup>1</sup> several, many <sup>2</sup> willow (*salix*) <sup>3</sup> interj. of course! <sup>4</sup> a spoon <sup>5</sup> summer

<sup>6</sup> its front.

Danish *s*-sound, unvoiced. In the combination *rs*, there is almost always this kind of *s*.

Ex.: [ers'erp'əq]<sup>1</sup> [ars'aq]<sup>2</sup> [as'arn'eq]<sup>3</sup> [isern'iarit]<sup>4</sup>.

Voiced *s* [z] I observed but once in VIII in [perz'erp'əq], otherwise [pers'erp'əq]<sup>5</sup>.

In the *Upernavik* district, I occasionally heard an *s* which seemed to begin with a momentary closure somewhat like *t*ç or *t'*ç (where *t* indicates a loosely formed stopped consonant between *t* and *k* produced by the front of the tongue in about the same place where *j* is formed, or perhaps a little farther front). Ex.: [kät'ç'orane]<sup>6</sup> [alu't'ç'a'ut]<sup>7</sup>.

In South Greenland, it is said that there exists a more distinctly *š*-like *s* than the loosely formed *s* heard in North Greenland. A North Greenlandic "kateket" (in *Niagornät*) who had received his training at the Godthaab seminary in South Greenland pronounced it for me, and the position of his tongue seemed most nearly to indicate an inverted (cacuminal) *s*, the point of the tongue being bent up and back\*).

The long *s*-sounds seem to have lighter friction and stronger aspiration than the short *s*-sounds.

§ 10. The point sounds [*t n l λ*] are in the majority of cases articulated against the lower edge of the upper teeth (interdentally) or against their back surface.

*t n l* and the aspirated *λ* all occur in Greenlandic, but

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\*) According to a private communication kindly sent me by the present director of Godthaab Seminary, the sound does not resemble the German *sch*. Those Greenlanders who are not accustomed to use it from childhood never learn to pronounce it perfectly even if they otherwise learn to speak the dialect of that district. This *s* is found all the way from Holstensborg south to Fiskernæsset, occasionally yet at Frederikshaab, but not farther south.

<sup>1</sup> becomes visible    <sup>2</sup> a ball    <sup>3</sup> land-breeze    <sup>4</sup> come in!    <sup>5</sup> it (the snow) is drifting    <sup>6</sup> soon    <sup>7</sup> a spoon.



there is no voiced  $d$ , no point- $r$ , and no voiced or unvoiced fricative like the English th-sounds [ $\theta$   $\delta$ ].

Greenlandic  $t = \beta 0^d$  or  $de$

"  $n = \beta 0^{ed}$  or  $de$

Cf. Icelandic, Færoic, Norwegian, French(?)\*)  $t, n = \beta 0^e$

German, Danish\*)  $t, n = \beta 0^{fe}$ , English\*)  $t, n = \beta 0^f$  (or  $fg$ )

On my phonetical lists, I find that of 111 observations of the  $t$  (or  $t^s$ ) position, the position  $\beta^d$  (or  $de$ ) occurs 89 times, the position  $\beta^{ed}$  or  $e$ , 18 times ( $\beta^{ef}$ , 4 times).

Among my 60  $n$ -observations, I have  $\beta^{ed}$  or  $e$  26 times,  $\beta^d$  or  $de$  18 times,  $\beta^{ef}$  or  $fe$  16 times.

There appears, then, to be a slight difference between  $t$  and  $n$  with respect to the place of closure. There seems to be a tendency to articulate  $n$  a little higher up behind the teeth than  $t$ ;  $t$  is more nearly interdental than  $n$ . Ex.:

[ $t$ ].

[ $a'ta$ ]<sup>1</sup> XVIII  $\beta 0^d$  XVII  $\beta 0^{de}$  XIV  $\beta 0^{ed}$  (or  $de$ ) VIII  $\beta 0^d$  (de) I  $\beta 0^d$

[ $qat'aq$ ]<sup>2</sup> XIX  $\beta 0^{de}$  or  $ed$  XVIII  $\beta 0^{de}$  or  $d$  XVII  $\beta 0^{de}$  XIV  $\beta 0^d$

[ $tut'o$ ]<sup>3</sup>  $\beta 0^d, de, ed$

[ $ta'luta'q$ ]<sup>4</sup>  $\beta 0^d$  or  $de$

[ $ata'ta$ ]<sup>5</sup>  $\beta 0^d$  or  $de$

[ $qila'^wt$ ]<sup>6</sup>  $\beta 0^d$

[ $ap'rtumik$ ]<sup>7</sup>  $\beta 0^d$  (de)

[ $oqa't'oq$ ]<sup>8</sup>  $\beta 0^{ed}$  (d)

[ $na'lon'it'oq$ ]<sup>9</sup>  $\beta 0^d$  (de)

[ $q'at'oŋaw'oq$ ]<sup>10</sup>  $\beta 0^{de}$  (d)

[ $k'at'oran'e$ ]<sup>11</sup>  $\beta 0^d$  (de) II [ $t^s$ ]  $\beta 0^{ed} + 1^{ed}$

[ $pit'a'w'oq$ ]<sup>12</sup>  $\beta 0^d$  (de)

\*) Jespersen: Fonetik § 190, Articulations § 56—57.

<sup>1</sup> his or her grandfather <sup>2</sup> a water-cask <sup>3</sup> a reindeer <sup>4</sup> a shooting-sail  
<sup>5</sup> his or her father <sup>6</sup> drum; violin <sup>7</sup> slowly <sup>8</sup> a cormorant <sup>9</sup> one who  
knows something <sup>10</sup> it is calm <sup>11</sup> soon <sup>12</sup> it (or he) is excellent.

[it'aq]<sup>1</sup> β0<sup>d</sup> IV [t<sup>s</sup>] β0<sup>d</sup> + 1<sup>d</sup>  
 [umi'ät'a't]<sup>2</sup> β0<sup>d</sup>  
 [kit'üt]<sup>3</sup> β0<sup>d</sup>  
 [nät'ät]<sup>4</sup> β0<sup>de</sup> XX [t<sup>s</sup>] β0 + 1

[t<sup>s</sup>] or [ts]

[t'ik'eq]<sup>5</sup> β0<sup>de</sup> + 1<sup>de</sup>  
 [t'ip'a']<sup>6</sup> β0<sup>d</sup> + 1<sup>d</sup>  
 [nät<sup>s</sup>'eq]<sup>7</sup> β0<sup>d</sup> + 1<sup>d</sup>  
 [at<sup>s</sup>'eq]<sup>8</sup> β0<sup>d(de)</sup> + 1<sup>d(de)</sup>  
 [t'a't<sup>s</sup>er'at]<sup>9</sup> β0<sup>d</sup> + 1<sup>d</sup>  
 [qit<sup>s</sup>erquλ'oηo]<sup>10</sup> β0<sup>d</sup> + 1<sup>d</sup> IV β0<sup>ed</sup> + 1<sup>ed</sup>  
 [umiät<sup>s</sup>'iaq]<sup>11</sup> β0<sup>de</sup> + 1<sup>de</sup>  
 [qaq.arsuät<sup>s</sup>'iaq]<sup>12</sup> β0<sup>de</sup> + 1<sup>de</sup> XVII β0<sup>d</sup> + 1<sup>d</sup>  
 [at<sup>s</sup>'erlun'e]<sup>13</sup> β0<sup>d</sup> + 1<sup>d</sup>  
 [at<sup>s</sup>'erλoη'o]<sup>14</sup> β0<sup>d</sup> + 1<sup>d</sup> VIII [t] β0  
 [tät'sit]<sup>25</sup> β0<sup>d</sup> + 1<sup>d</sup>  
 [nät'seq]<sup>16</sup> β0<sup>d</sup> + 1<sup>d</sup>  
 [put'serpog]<sup>17</sup> β0<sup>d(de)</sup> + 1<sup>de(d)</sup>

The *s*-like element indicated in [t<sup>s</sup>] may be of very short duration and sometimes very little marked. But it is oftenest quite distinct, and after a long [t] it is even distinctly separated from this sound, to that we get a normal sound-group consisting of a long *t* + a short *s*. It has already been remarked that this *s* is different from the usual *s* in that it is articulated in the same place as *t*, with the point of the tongue pressed against the lower edge of the upper teeth.

<sup>1</sup> many years ago    <sup>2</sup> a boat    <sup>3</sup> plur. of [kis'iaq], an anchor, plur. also [kis'üt]    <sup>4</sup> plur. of [nas'iaq], a cap, plur. also [näs'üt]    <sup>5</sup> the forefinger    <sup>6</sup> its smell    <sup>7</sup> the floor    <sup>8</sup> the name    <sup>9</sup> the gulls    <sup>10</sup> divide something in half    <sup>11</sup> a boat, plur. [umiät'at]    <sup>12</sup> a mountain of medium height    <sup>13</sup> to go down    <sup>14</sup> to give someone a name    <sup>15</sup> lakes, plur. of [tas'eq]    <sup>16</sup> a seal    <sup>17</sup> it is foggy.

In consequence of the peculiar, strongly protruding position of the tongue at the formation of these sounds (*t n l λ*), palatalization often takes place. However, since it is impossible to observe this directly — it is probably to be indicated by  $\beta^0^d \gamma^0^f$  i. e. closure both at the teeth and at the arch-rim — and since it has no appreciable acoustic effect on the consonant-sound (but on the preceding vowel, as we shall see later), I have preferred to leave this palatalization unindicated.

[*n*].

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{[nānəq]}^1 \\ \text{[ana·na·]}^2 \\ \text{[tan·eq]}^3 \\ \text{[arnaq]}^4 \end{array} \right\}$	$\beta^0 \text{ ed (e)}$	IV, XX	$[n] \beta^{\text{ef (fe)}}$
		IV	$[n] \beta^{\text{ef (fe)}}$
$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{[nan'ik·āt]}^5 \\ \text{[an·eq]}^6 \\ \text{[pa·n·āt]}^7 \\ \text{[ata·ne]}^8 \\ \text{[as·arneq]}^9 \\ \text{['ars'arnər'it]}^{10} \end{array} \right\}$	$\beta^{\text{de (d)}}$		

The [*l*]-sounds in Greenlandic are usually bilateral point-tongue sounds, produced

- 1) with the point of the tongue supported against the lower edge or the back surface of the front teeth, and sometimes against the place: ef;
- 2) with the point of the tongue bent up toward the arch-rim.

The aspirated *λ* is articulated almost exclusively with the first position i. e. with the point of the tongue supported against the teeth. So the relation between *λ* and *l* is the same as that between *t* and *n*: *λ* is more nearly interdental than *l*.

<sup>1</sup> a bear    <sup>2</sup> his or her mother    <sup>3</sup> the longest    <sup>4</sup> a woman    <sup>5</sup> the thing that you have found    <sup>6</sup> the largest    <sup>7</sup> (a kind of) flowers    <sup>8</sup> under it    <sup>9</sup> land breeze, east wind    <sup>10</sup> aurora borealis.

Greenlandic  $\lambda = \beta l^d$  or  $de$ , rarely  $\beta l^e$ .

Ex.: [ $a\lambda \cdot u^1a$ ]<sup>1</sup> [ $a\lambda \cdot ak \cdot at$ ]<sup>2</sup> [ $qa\lambda \cdot eq$ ]<sup>3</sup> [ $i\lambda \cdot o$ ]<sup>4</sup> [ $a\lambda \cdot \dot{a}t$ ]<sup>5</sup>  
 [ $q^1\dot{a}\lambda \cdot un^1a \cdot q$ ]<sup>6</sup> [ $\dot{i}^w\lambda \cdot it$ ]<sup>7</sup> [ $ku\lambda \cdot \ddot{o}q$ ]<sup>8</sup> [ $t\ddot{a}\lambda \cdot imat$ ]<sup>9</sup> [ $a^w\lambda \cdot \dot{a} \cdot t$ ]<sup>10</sup>  
 [ $a\eta iwa\lambda \cdot arqa \cdot \ddot{o}q$ ]<sup>11</sup>

The first part of an  $\lambda$  often seems to be identical with a  $t$ -closure and makes the same impression on the ear as the beginning of a  $t$ . In reality the outgoing air makes its way inaudibly along both the edges of the tongue until with strong pressure it beats against the inner surface of the corners of the mouth and rushes out at both sides. The aspiration is strongest and of longest duration in words that have an emphatic meaning, especially when the  $\lambda$  introduces a strongly stressed syllable.

Ex.: [ $a\eta iwa\lambda \cdot a^1a \cdot rqa \cdot \ddot{o}q$ ]<sup>12</sup> [ $kiapa\lambda \cdot a^1a \cdot rqa \cdot \ddot{o}q$ ]<sup>13</sup> [ $qa\lambda \cdot a \cdot \eta \cdot aqa \cdot \ddot{o}q$ ]<sup>14</sup>

Greenlandic  $l$  no. 1 =  $\beta l^d$  or  $e$ , as in:

[ $n^1a \cdot lan^1a \cdot q$ ]<sup>15</sup> [ $qil^1a \cdot \ddot{w}t$ ]<sup>16</sup> [ $al^1\ddot{o}q$ ]<sup>17</sup> [ $nul^1ia$ ]<sup>18</sup> [ $n\dot{a}la$ ]<sup>19</sup>.

Greenlandic  $l$  no. 2 =  $\beta l^{(f\ddot{e})}$ , as in:

[ $tak^1o\eta alu^1arp \cdot ak \cdot a$ ]<sup>20</sup> [ $n^1ak \cdot aral^1ut \cdot uaq \cdot a \cdot \ddot{o}q$ ]<sup>21</sup> [ $\dot{a}n \cdot \epsilon nul^1a \cdot rpo \cdot q$ ]<sup>22</sup>  
 [ $\eta^1er\lambda al^1arp \cdot \ddot{o}q$ ]<sup>23</sup> [ $oqalup \cdot ala \cdot rniarit$ ]<sup>24</sup> [ $n^1a \cdot l^1\dot{a} \cdot \eta \cdot il^1arma$ ]<sup>25</sup>

In some districts, I noticed that this  $l$  almost assumed the character of an untrilled point- $r$  (as in English arab etc.), but with a firmer pressure against the palate, e. g.:

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<sup>1</sup> a seal's breathing-hole in the ice    <sup>2</sup> the written lines, letter    <sup>3</sup> the uppermost    <sup>4</sup> a house    <sup>5</sup> others    <sup>6</sup> a European    <sup>7</sup> thou    <sup>8</sup> thumb    <sup>9</sup> five  
<sup>10</sup> a gun    <sup>11</sup> it is too big    <sup>12</sup> it is too big    <sup>13</sup> it is too warm    <sup>14</sup> is indisposed (on account of hunger or cold)    <sup>15</sup> lord, master, one who is obeyed  
<sup>16</sup> drum, violin    <sup>17</sup> sole of the foot    <sup>18</sup> his wife    <sup>19</sup> that which is abreast of, off a place.    <sup>20</sup> of course I saw them (but ...)    <sup>21</sup> I think it will fall    <sup>22</sup> that is a little larger    <sup>23</sup> it is progressing a little    <sup>24</sup> speak a little as well as you can    <sup>25</sup> you do not obey me.



[a <sup>w</sup> p·ara·rtəq]	for [a <sup>w</sup> p·ala·rtəq] <sup>1</sup>
[āŋ·kəra·rtut]	for [āŋ·kəla·rtut] or [āŋkala·rtut] <sup>2</sup>
[sŋara·q] (Ik.)	for [sŋala·q] <sup>3</sup>
[it·ora·rtəq] (Omnq.)	for [it·ola·rtəq] <sup>4</sup>

## § 11. The lip-consonants [m p w φ].

The lips show great repose both in the formation of vowels and consonants. They are seldom much rounded, or pouted, or pressed back against the teeth.

The Greenlandic lip-consonants are all bilabial.

Even when at rest, the lips are frequently to be seen slightly open so that the teeth shine out between them. This seems to be most usual among the unmixed Greenlanders, whose lips are generally thicker than those of the half-breeds.

When the lips are opened or closed by the movement of the lower jaw, it is impossible to see any change in their form, and even when contraction is necessary for the formation of a rounded consonant or some other specially modified lip-consonant, the lip muscles are not very firmly tightened; not even for the sake of emphasizing interjections, is there any appreciable movement in them.

The Greenlandic lip-sounds, then, with the exception of the stopped consonants, may be said to be very loosely formed. Sometimes they appear to be, so to speak, mere approaches to lip-articulations, which in reality are scarcely distinct enough to be called independent sounds. This is especially the case in the sound-combination vowel + *w* + consonant, where the *w*-sound is but seldom able to separate the vowel from the consonant. In order to indicate these lip-positions I place a *u* (*o*, *ɔ*) or *w* as an exponent after the vowel. The Greenlandic

<sup>1</sup> red    <sup>2</sup> a (kind of) game    <sup>3</sup> a layer of smooth ice formed on top of old ice    <sup>4</sup> it is roaring (the water, the fire).

pronounces them distinctly only when he takes special pains to show how the word ought to be pronounced according to the current orthography. Otherwise this *u* or *w* denotes merely an accompanying movement of the lips or a glide position at the production of the other sounds. Ex.:

$[i^w\lambda\dot{i}t]^1$   $[i^w s\dot{o}q]^2$   $[p i^w \lambda \cdot u a r n a]^3$   $[u \ddot{a}^w s \cdot a r a]^4$   $[u a^u w \dot{o} q]^5$   
 $[a^u \lambda \cdot \dot{a} \cdot \dot{t}]^6$  —  $[a^w \lambda \cdot a]^7$   $[q a^w \lambda \cdot u n a \cdot q]^8$  or more frequently  $[a \lambda \cdot a$ ,  
 $q \dot{a} \lambda \cdot u n a \cdot q]$ .

$[m] = a0 \delta 2$

$[p] = a0 \delta 0$

$[a^m \cdot a]^9 a0^b$   $[m \cdot i a q]^{10} a0^{bc \text{ or } cb}$   $[o^m i \eta a \cdot]^{11} a0^{ba \text{ or } ab}$

$[a \cdot p]^{12} a0^b$   $[a p \cdot a]^{13} a0^b$   $[a \cdot p \cdot a]^{14} a0^b$   $[i p \cdot i k]^{15} a0^{bc}$

$[u p \cdot i k]^{16} a0^{ba \text{ or } bc}$

$[w] = a21^{cb}$

Cf. English *f*, Danish *v* =  $a2^{\delta}$

English *w* =  $a1^a$

In the articulation of the Greenlandic *w*, the lips are very slightly rounded (much less so than in the case of the English *w*), with the lower lip somewhat nearer the teeth than the upper lip. No raising of the back of the tongue takes place.

I append the *v*-list in extenso as a specimen showing how my phonetical lists were arranged. Here, as in the other lists, the current (Kleinschmidt's) orthography is retained in the key-words. The only thing I have changed in it is the Roman numerals, in order to make them agree with the new numbers (Roman numerals) which I assigned to my subjects of experiment after my return home (cf. p. 8). But in reality my investigations took

<sup>1</sup> thou <sup>2</sup> green turf <sup>3</sup> may you be happy! (congratulations!) <sup>4</sup> that which I have found <sup>5</sup> it is growing out <sup>6</sup> gun <sup>7</sup> another, a stranger <sup>8</sup> a foreigner, European <sup>9</sup> also <sup>10</sup> beer <sup>11</sup> he is vexed with him (or it) <sup>12</sup> yes <sup>13</sup> an auk <sup>14</sup> the other one <sup>15</sup> a cliff, bluff <sup>16</sup> an owl.

place in the same order in which the alphabetical indications are given here for each single key-word.

*v* appeared to be almost always bilabial, accordingly more correctly a *w*, but without elevation of the back of the tongue. Now and then I also observed a labiodental *v*.

### The *v*-list.

sava <sup>1</sup>	XVI <i>a</i> 2 <sup>d</sup>   XIX   XVIII <i>a</i> 2 <sup>c</sup> (cd)   XVII <i>a</i> 2 <sup>ba</sup>   V <i>a</i> 2 <sup>c</sup> XI <i>a</i> 2 <sup>c</sup> (d)   IV <i>a</i> 2 <sup>bc</sup>
avâ <sup>2</sup>	XVI <i>a</i> 2 <sup>d</sup> (NB.)   XX <i>a</i> 23 <sup>d</sup>   XVIII <i>a</i> 2 <sup>c</sup> (cd)   XVII <i>a</i> 23 <sup>ab</sup> VIII <i>a</i> 32 <sup>ab</sup>   VI <i>a</i> 21 <sup>cd</sup>   X <i>a</i> 21 <sup>cd</sup>   XI <i>a</i> 12 <sup>cd or de</sup> IX <i>a</i> 1 <sup>b</sup> (ba)   VII <i>a</i> 1 <sup>b</sup>   X <i>a</i> 1 <sup>b</sup>   IV <i>a</i> 2
nâvâ <sup>3</sup>	XX <i>a</i> 2 (21)   XVIII <i>a</i> 2 <sup>c</sup>   XVIII <i>a</i> 5 (53) <sup>ba</sup>   VIII <i>a</i> 32 <sup>ab</sup> V <i>a</i> 32 <sup>ab</sup>   VII <i>a</i> 1 <sup>b</sup>   X <i>a</i> 1 <sup>b</sup> (bc)   IV <i>a</i> 2 or <i>a</i> 1
avangnak <sup>4</sup>	XIX <i>a</i> 12   XX <i>a</i> 24 <sup>cd</sup>   XVII <i>a</i> 23   VIII <i>a</i> 12 (or 32) <sup>b</sup> VI <i>a</i> 2 <sup>cd</sup>   XI <i>a</i> 2 (3) or 4 (3) <sup>dc</sup>   IX <i>a</i> 2 (3) <sup>b</sup>   VII <i>a</i> 21 <sup>bc</sup> X <i>a</i> 21 <sup>cb</sup>   IV <i>a</i> 2   II—I <i>a</i> 2 <sup>b</sup>
avârpâ <sup>5</sup>	XVIII <i>a</i> 2 <sup>cd</sup>   XVII <i>a</i> 45 <sup>b</sup>   VIII <i>a</i> 32 (or 12) <sup>ab</sup>   V <i>a</i> 2 (3) <sup>b</sup> XI <i>a</i> 12 <sup>cd</sup> (dc)   IX <i>a</i> 23 <sup>bc</sup>   IV <i>a</i> 2
savik <sup>6</sup>	XIX <i>a</i> 12 <sup>ba</sup>   XX <i>a</i> 12 <sup>cd</sup>   XVIII <i>a</i> 2 <sup>cd</sup>   XVII <i>a</i> 2 <sup>cb</sup> (24) VIII <i>a</i> 12 <sup>ab</sup>   VI <i>a</i> 2 (1) <sup>d</sup> (c)   V <i>a</i> 21 <sup>b</sup> (bc)   XI <i>a</i> 2 <sup>c</sup>   IV <i>a</i> 2 <sup>bc</sup> II—I <i>a</i> 2 <sup>bc</sup> , <i>a</i> 2 <sup>b</sup>
arfîvik <sup>7</sup>	XIX <i>a</i> 1   XX <i>a</i> 1 <sup>d</sup> (?)   XVIII <i>a</i> 2 <sup>dc</sup>   XVII <i>a</i> 2 <sup>cd</sup> (dc)   <i>a</i> 2 <sup>c</sup> VI <i>a</i> 2 <sup>d</sup>   V <i>a</i> 21 <sup>ba</sup>   VII <i>a</i> 2 (1) <sup>c</sup>   X <i>a</i> 2 <sup>cd</sup>   IV <i>a</i> 2 <sup>bc or b</sup>
inivia <sup>8</sup>	XVIII <i>a</i> 2 <sup>dc</sup>   XVII <i>a</i> 2 <sup>cd</sup> (dc)   V <i>a</i> 2 <sup>bc</sup>
kivîput <sup>9</sup>	XIX <i>a</i> 12   XVIII <i>a</i> 2 <sup>cd</sup>   XVII <i>a</i> 2 <sup>c</sup>   VIII <i>a</i> 32 <sup>c</sup>   V <i>a</i> 32 <sup>bc</sup> XI <i>a</i> 2 (1) <sup>bc</sup>   VII <i>a</i> 2 (1) <sup>bc</sup>   X <i>a</i> 2 <sup>bc</sup>   IV <i>a</i> 2 <sup>c</sup>
kivîtok <sup>10</sup>	XIX <i>a</i> 12 or 24 <sup>d</sup>   XX <i>a</i> 2 (21) <sup>d</sup>   XVIII <i>a</i> 2 <sup>(dc) cd</sup>   XVII <i>a</i> 2 <sup>c</sup> V <i>a</i> 2 <sup>b</sup> (?)   XI <i>a</i> 2 <sup>c</sup>

<sup>1</sup> a sheep <sup>2</sup> the back part of his or her head <sup>3</sup> he ends it, has ended it  
<sup>4</sup> north wind <sup>5</sup> he hits him on the back of his head <sup>6</sup> iron, knife <sup>7</sup> whale  
 (balaena mysticetus) <sup>8</sup> its proper place. <sup>9</sup> they became angry or felt  
 offended; retired from the community <sup>10</sup> (participle of the preceding verb).



kiavok<sup>11</sup> XIX  $\alpha 1^{ba}$  | XX  $\alpha 2^{cd}$  | XVIII  $\alpha 2^{b(cb)}$  | XVII  $\alpha 35^a$  | VIII  $\alpha 32^{ab}$   
 VI  $\alpha 12^c$  | V  $\alpha 23^a$  | XI  $\alpha 32^{b(ba)}$  | IX  $\alpha 32^{b(ba)}$  | IV  $\alpha 20^d$   
 ïvok<sup>12</sup> XIX  $\alpha 1^a$  | XVIII  $\alpha 2^c(cb)$  | XVII  $\alpha 13^{ba}$  | VIII  $\alpha 32^a$   
 VI  $\alpha 12^{ba}$  | V  $\alpha 3^a$  | IX  $\alpha 32^b$  | IV  $\alpha(2) 1^a$   
 nivráipok<sup>13</sup>  
 kavdlunák<sup>14</sup>  
 ivdlit<sup>15</sup> V  $\alpha 2^c$   
 ivssok<sup>16</sup> V  $\alpha 24^c$   
 ivkik<sup>17</sup>  
 ivsek<sup>18</sup> V  $\alpha 4^c$  | IV  $\alpha 02$   
 ivssuvok<sup>19</sup> XX  $\alpha 2^d$  | VI  $\alpha 21^{cb}$   
 nauvok<sup>20</sup> XIX  $\alpha 1$  (or 12)<sup>ba</sup> | XX  $\alpha 2^{cd}$  | XVIII  $\alpha 2(21)^c$  | XVII  $\alpha 3^{ab}$   
 VIII  $\alpha 32^{ab}$  | VI  $\alpha 3^{ba}$  | V  $\alpha 31$  or 13<sup>ba</sup> | XI  $\alpha 12^c(d)$   
 IX  $\alpha 21^{cd}$  | VII  $\alpha 1^c$  | X  $\alpha 1^c$  | IV  $\alpha 1^a$   
 auvek<sup>21</sup> XIX  $\alpha 12^{ba}$  (or  $\alpha 3^{ba}$ ) | XX  $\alpha 24^d$  | XVIII  $\alpha 2^c$  |  $\alpha 2^{ba}$   
 VIII  $\alpha 23^b$  | VI  $\alpha 2^{dc}$  | V  $\alpha 2^b$  | XI  $\alpha 2(1)^c$  | IX  $\alpha 2(23)^b$   
 VII  $\alpha 21^c(cb)$  | X  $\alpha 21^{bc}$  | IV  $\alpha 2^c$   
 pivdluarna<sup>22</sup>  
 navsuerpara<sup>23</sup>  
 navssára<sup>24</sup>  
 nangávok<sup>25</sup> XVIII  $\alpha 1$  | XVII  $\alpha 13^{ba}$  or  $ab$  | V  $\alpha 12^{ab}$  | IV  $\alpha 2$   
 igsiavik<sup>26</sup> VIII  $\alpha 12^{b(bc)}$  | V  $\alpha 21^{bc}$  | XIX  $\alpha 21^{dc}$  |  $\alpha 23^c$  | IV  $\alpha 2$   
 ivik<sup>27</sup> VIII  $\alpha 21^c$  | VI  $\alpha 2^c$  | V  $\alpha 21^c$  | IV  $\alpha 20^{cd}$  or  $2^c$  | II-I  $\alpha 20^c(d)$   
 tauva<sup>28</sup> VII  $\alpha 21^{bc(b)}$  | X  $\alpha 21^b$  | IV  $\alpha 2$

<sup>11</sup> he is weeping    <sup>12</sup> it is cooked; it is burned    <sup>13</sup> it is snowing  
<sup>14</sup> a European, "white man"    <sup>15</sup> thou    <sup>16</sup> peat    <sup>17</sup> the gums    <sup>18</sup> juice (in  
 meat) or sap (in plants)    <sup>19</sup> is thick    <sup>20</sup> it (the plant etc.) is growing out  
<sup>21</sup> a walrus    <sup>22</sup> good luck to you (form of congratulation)    <sup>23</sup> I explained it  
<sup>24</sup> that which I have found    <sup>25</sup> is irresolute    <sup>26</sup> a seat    <sup>27</sup> grass    <sup>28</sup> then,  
 thereupon.



Notes to the key-words of the *v*-list \*)

The small numerals (1-28) refer to (the *v* in) the key-words as pronounced by the individuals (I-XX).

XVI <sup>2</sup> *avà*: firmer closure than in *sava*. — XIX *α* 1 or 12, consequently rounding of the lips, indicated as strongly marked: 1, less pronounced: 12. <sup>4</sup> 12 . <sup>7</sup> 1 -o-. <sup>7</sup> even here in <sup>7</sup>, the sound has no resemblance to the English *w*, which is perhaps due to the fact that the lips are very little pouted, but it is decidedly bilabial. <sup>10</sup> the under lips are drawn slightly nearer to the lower teeth. <sup>12</sup> there is nothing of the English *w*, for in the articulation of *v* the lips remain at rest (between *u* and *o*); between the *o*- and *u*-positions there is merely a narrowing, a contraction from a larger to a smaller rounding. <sup>13</sup> without any trace of *v*. <sup>13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18</sup> without any trace of *v*, but the boy's father Sakarias has in the last (<sup>18</sup>) a slight indication of *v* [<sup>18</sup>*v*<sup>18</sup>*sät*], but <sup>17</sup> [<sup>17</sup>*ik*<sup>17</sup>*kēk*] (sic!). <sup>19</sup> [<sup>19</sup>*ivs*<sup>19</sup>*sōvok*]. <sup>21</sup> *v* almost = *o*. <sup>22, 23, 24</sup> without *v*. — XX *v* is articulated with the lips separated (-o- *α* 4) [is it an individual peculiarity? the open mouth (separated lips) is a very common position of rest in this place (Niakornârsuk)] the under lip is merely tightened and drawn up a little toward the teeth; the upper lip is drawn slightly down. <sup>3</sup> with a little tinge of the English *w*. <sup>2</sup> here, as in the case of several of the other words, a very loose closure between the under lip and the lower teeth and with the lips somewhat rounded (*α* 23). <sup>4</sup> perhaps the best alphabetical indication. NB. here is almost no trace of any resemblance to the English *w*. <sup>19 and 20</sup> about like *o* without rounding of the lips (?). — XVIII  the closure very loose, which is perhaps the reason why there is some little resemblance to *w*. <sup>11-12</sup> bi-

\*) I took down these notes during the experiments themselves in Greenland, and they are here given in the same order in which I wrote them. Between the first and the last there was an interval of more than a year.

labial = ūvak  $\alpha 2^{ab}$  (probably a little rounding of the lips here).  
<sup>25</sup> (the next day) with rounding of the lips -o-. — XVII  
<sup>3,5</sup> rather o than v. <sup>11</sup> o not like  $\hat{a}$ , but like an o. <sup>12</sup> very  
much rounded, a little nearer  $\alpha^b$  than  $\hat{u}$  and o. <sup>20</sup> rounded  
<sup>21</sup> unrounded. — VIII <sup>13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19</sup> without any trace of v,  
on the contrary with the under lip lowered (except perhaps  
in <sup>14</sup> kavdlunāk). <sup>26</sup> less v-like than generally. <sup>27</sup> [i'vik]. —  
VI [sa'vak] with  $\kappa$ . <sup>15</sup> [ke'va] with  $\alpha 2^b$  or  $21^b$  (slightly  
v-like). — V <sup>1</sup> [savak]. <sup>2</sup> with outward movement of the  
under lip here as perhaps in various other cases. <sup>3</sup> as in <sup>2</sup>:  
it probably means merely: rounding of the lips, projecting  
and retracting, especially with reference to the upper lip.  
<sup>7</sup> f and v the same position of the mouth. <sup>8</sup> quite without  
or with a very little v-tinge. <sup>15</sup> here: v, but with the middle  
of the under lip turned up toward the upper lip, an unnatural  
pronunciation. <sup>26</sup> [ivsiavik]. — XI the positions indicated are  
undoubtedly exaggerated in the direction of <sup>a</sup>; by comparing  
(in a mirror) my own lip positions in pronouncing these  
words with the Danish v, I am confirmed in this supposition;  
thus avannak *avārpāra* (repeated again and again) is rather  
to be indicated by  $\alpha 2^b$  or perhaps  $\alpha 2^{bc}$ . — VII and X  
The lips of the former lend themselves better to pout-  
ing than the lips of X. — IV <sup>14</sup> without v [käd<sup>h</sup>lunāk]  
<sup>15</sup> [i<sup>v</sup>d<sup>h</sup>lit] with the lips brought nearer to each other but  
not closed. <sup>16</sup> [i<sup>l</sup>.tsək] or [i<sup>l</sup>.tsək] <sup>17</sup> [ikk<sup>l</sup>k] without v  
<sup>18</sup> [i<sup>l</sup>.vs<sup>l</sup>ek] or [i<sup>l</sup>.s<sup>l</sup>ek] distinct v-tinge, but no lip-closure.  
<sup>19</sup> [i<sup>l</sup>.tsu<sup>l</sup>vok] without v. <sup>2</sup> is pronounced as otherwise the  
bilabial v or [β], but it occurs to me here that hitherto I  
must have used incorrect symbols in all those cases where  
I have used uneven numbers, since the lips are not generally  
rounded in the formation of this sound. The corresponding  
even numbers ought probably to be substituted everywhere  
in the list. <sup>3</sup> both here and in <sup>2</sup> more than ever before, a

sound which might resemble the English *w* [*na<sup>o</sup>wa*]. <sup>7</sup> probably bilabial [*arpivik*]. <sup>12</sup> on account of the *u* the lips are very much pouted, therefore uneven numbers; but they are not drawn back quickly as in the case of the English *w*, but are kept forward in rest and are squeezed together to a [*β*] with a little rounding (no closure). <sup>12</sup> without closure against the teeth, but merely friction. <sup>22</sup> without *v*; *una pivdlugo* with a little indication of *v*. — <sup>23</sup> [*nütsu<sup>1</sup>erpara*] with marked pouting of the lips and a slight wrinkling of the nose at the formation of *tsu*. — <sup>25</sup> [*itsüaβik*] *tsü* as in <sup>23</sup>.

The list contains in all 172 observations of the *v*-sound. The result of these observations is that I found the sound 79 times unrounded (even numbers), 32 times slightly rounded (even + uneven number), 29 times almost rounded (uneven + even number), 32 times absolutely rounded (uneven numbers).

With respect to the place of articulation, my observations show 56 times the underlip slightly drawn back ( $\alpha^{c(cd,cb)}$ ), 53 times the lips almost or entirely in their natural position ( $\alpha^b(bc,ba)$ ), 17 times the lips pouted ( $\alpha^{ab(a)}$ ), 19 times the underlip in contact with the lower edge of the upper teeth ( $\alpha^d(de)$ ).

This great number of variations may at first glance seem to show mere confusion and inconsistency. They all have, however, this in common, that they indicate a voiced labial fricative, and on closer observation one soon finds that there is a predominant tendency to form a bilabial slightly rounded fricative. This agrees with the acoustic effect which the sound had on my ears. When I occasionally noted an articulation which very nearly corresponded to our labiodental *v*, I even in that case found that the closure (friction) was as a rule somewhat looser than in the corresponding Danish or English articulation. At all events, the labiodental *v* does occur, but is apparently merely occasional and may perhaps be partly due to the

influence of adjacent *i*-sounds. Besides I am inclined to believe that it will be observed most frequently and in its purest form among the mixed Danish-Eskimo inhabitants, whose lips are narrower and more flexible than those of the real Eskimo.

[ $\varphi$ ] =  $a2^c$  (cd, bc, b)

Cf. English, Danish *f* =  $a2^d$

[sar $\varphi$ aq]<sup>1</sup>  $a2^{d \text{ or } c}$

[ar $\varphi$ eq]<sup>2</sup>  $a2^{d, c, b}$

[ar $\varphi$ ap $\varphi$ oq]<sup>3</sup>  $a2^c$  or  $a21^b$

[ar $\varphi$ iwik]<sup>4</sup>  $a2^{cd}$

[il $\varphi$ ar $\varphi$ ä $\lambda$ üt $\cdot$ la $\cdot$ r $\varphi$ oq]<sup>5</sup>  $a2^{d \text{ (de) or } c}$  XIX  $a12^b$

[nik $\varphi$ ar $\varphi$ aw $\varphi$ oq]<sup>6</sup>  $a2^{cb \text{ or } c}$

[a $\cdot$ u $\varphi$ isar $\varphi$ ik]<sup>7</sup>  $a2^{d \text{ (dc) or } c}$

[t $\varphi$ t $\varphi$ r $\varphi$ ik]<sup>8</sup> V-VI  $a2^{dc}$  VII  $a21^b$  VIII  $a12^c$  X  $a21^b$  XI  $a2^{bc}$  XIV  $a2^d$

XVII  $a13^{ba}$  XVIII  $a21^b$  XIX  $a1^b$  XX  $a21^d$

[oqal $\varphi$ ik]<sup>9</sup>  $a2^{dc \text{ or } c \text{ or } b}$  XIV  $a23^c$

[a $\varphi$ ·a]<sup>10</sup> V  $a2^{bc}$  XIV  $a2$  or  $23^{bc \text{ or } c}$  XVII  $a2^{cd}$  XVIII  $a2^{cd}$  XIX  $a1^{ba}$

[sün $\cdot$ a $\cdot$ u $\varphi$ a]<sup>11</sup>  $a2^{dc \text{ or } c}$  VIII-XIX  $a2^{bc}$  VII-X  $a21^b$  (or  $12^b$ )

[u $\varphi$ ·la $\cdot$ r $\varphi$ ar $\cdot$ a]<sup>12</sup>  $a12^{cb \text{ or } b}$

[u $\varphi$ ·a]<sup>13</sup> V  $a1$  (12)<sup>ab</sup> VI  $a12^c$  VII  $a12^b$  IX  $a2$  (13)<sup>ba \text{ or } ab</sup> X  $a12^b$

XI  $a2$  (1)<sup>c</sup> XIV  $a23^{bc}$  XVII  $a21^{ba}$  XX  $a2$

[nu $\varphi$ ·it]<sup>14</sup>  $a1^b$  or  $ba$

[ki $\varphi$ ·a $\varphi$ ]<sup>15</sup> V  $a2^c$  VII  $a2^{bc \text{ to } b}$  VIII  $a2^{dc > c}$  X  $a1^{bc > b}$  XVII  $a2^{dc}$

XIX  $a1^{bc}$

[si $\varphi$ ·rt $\varphi$ ]<sup>16</sup>  $a2^{cd, c, cb}$

[i $\varphi$ ·it]<sup>17</sup>  $a2^c$  or  $bc$

[si $\varphi$ ·ia $\varphi$ ]<sup>18</sup>  $a2^{dc \text{ or } c}$

<sup>1</sup> current    <sup>2</sup> whale    <sup>3</sup> catches a whale    <sup>4</sup> Greenland whale (*balaena mysticetus*)    <sup>5</sup> he is apt to exaggerate    <sup>6</sup> stands, is standing    <sup>7</sup> fishing place  
<sup>8</sup> teacup    <sup>9</sup> church (speaking-place)    <sup>10</sup> there in the north!    <sup>11</sup> what!    <sup>12</sup> I am washing it    <sup>13</sup> there!    <sup>14</sup> a strap with a cross-stick to hang the fish on that have been caught    <sup>15</sup> servant    <sup>16</sup> lame in the hip, halting    <sup>17</sup> grass    <sup>18</sup> a hip



Among 179 observations of the *f*-sound in Greenlandic, I found 55 times the bilabially neutral lip-position ( $\alpha^b$ ), 65 times the under lip bilabially drawn back under the upper lip toward the teeth ( $\alpha^c$ ), 59 times labiodental friction.

It was scarcely a fourth of them that showed any slight rounding or pouting of the lips, as in the following of the above key-words <sup>3, 8, 12, 13</sup>, often also in <sup>1, 2, 9, 10, 11, 14</sup>. As a rule the sound was produced by the air being breathed out through a slit whose form corresponded to the *p*-closure, and there was a predominant tendency to draw the under lip somewhat back toward the teeth as in the case of our *f*. The pure labiodental *f* occurred occasionally, especially 1) between *i*-sounds or after *r* 2) among the mixed Danish-Eskimo inhabitants.

Before  $\varphi$ , *i* and *u* often seemed to be velarized, i. e. immediately before (and during) the  $\varphi$ -sound, a loose *g* or  $\chi$  friction takes place ( $\alpha 2^b \gamma 3^1$  or *j*). Thus in <sup>13, 14, 16, 17</sup>.

The bilabial character of the Greenlandic *f*- and *v*-sounds is also evident from the fact that in the Upernavik dialect, *p*, the bilabial stopped consonant, is consistently substituted for  $[\varphi]$ . This fricative does not seem to occur at all in the northernmost districts, where they say *sarpaq* for *sur $\varphi$ aq*<sup>1</sup>, *arpäq* for *ar $\varphi$ äq*<sup>2</sup>, *oqarp $\eta$ a* for *oqar $\varphi$  $\eta$ a*<sup>3</sup> etc.

**§ 12.** The vowel-system of the North Greenlandic language is on the whole a reflexion of the consonant-system, but it is far from being characterized by the same regularity.

The vowel articulations are, as it were, more fluctuating than the consonant articulations, which is due to the fact that they are in so great a degree subject to influence from the adjacent sounds. An intended *a* or *e*, *o* or *u* has to have its

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<sup>1</sup> current    <sup>2</sup> whale    <sup>3</sup> he talks to him (tells him).

place and width of articulation adapted to the surrounding and especially the following consonants; it is drawn forward in the mouth by a following point consonant, pushed in and back by a back consonant. This becomes especially evident on comparing the variations which take place in the final vowel of words with vowel-stems when they enter into combination with various suffixes, and also on comparing the individual and dialectal differences in the pronunciation of the vowels in the same words, as far as it has been possible to observe them.

This often extreme shifting of the resonance conditions of the vowels in Greenlandic is no doubt first of all to be attributed to the dispersedness of the consonant-system, to the large extent of the field of articulation. It is in many cases difficult for the tongue to change position from one consonant to the next, and it is the intervening vowel that is affected by the difficulty.

Vowel articulations are on the whole looser than the corresponding consonant articulations. The consonants are the fixed points in the stream of sound; there is traditionally more energy connected with them than with the vowels. The consonantal sound is a noise which can be produced in only one place of articulation, but in the case of the vowels, a musical tone asserts itself, which blends with the noise of articulation. This musical tone (natural pitch) can be produced about alike in several places in the mouth, while the tongue assumes various positions (cf. a back *a* with a front *a*), but at each new place, the sound will be differently shaded by reason of the changing unharmonious noise-elements, which accompany it. Still there is for any given vowel in a given word a traditional tendency to articulate it in a certain manner, i. e. to raise the surface of tongue toward certain points on the palate. I am inclined to believe that this tendency is more variable in the Greenlandic language than it is as a rule in English and Danish.

These more or less variable tendencies are all that the phonetician has to depend on when he wants to determine the nature of the vowels. To describe a vowel is merely to describe that position of articulation with which it is usually produced in the language under investigation. The alphabetical symbol of the sound is merely an abstraction or the type of a whole group of shades. In determining these it is generally convenient to take the standard from some language which we know from hearing (as French).

Direct observation of the positions of vowel-articulation by looking at the mouth of another speaker is both difficult and uncertain. I have therefore principally used the indirect method, which is to imitate the sounds myself and to try to keep control of the distances in my mouth and the shape and positions of my tongue by means of the usual methods of self-observation (by observation in a mirror, by whispering and breathing in, by the tongue's feeling of its own movements). The following alphabetical indications and the classification of the sounds include merely the most essential sound-shades, for I have found that it would be impossible to find expressions for all the shades. So the results which I am going to present are rather to be taken as boundary-marks or mile-stones than as mathematically correct expressions for all the vowel sounds of the language.

My experience with vowel-systems has been that every time I have tried to arrange the Greenlandic vowels under the usual heads, they have burst the bounds of the system. Jespersen's method (alphabetical symbols which aim to give an exact quantitative expression of the articulation) is no doubt the only one that can give satisfaction whenever the object is to distinguish fine shades of speech-sounds, but even that is not entirely infallible in the case of the vowels, for its method of valuation is even for experts partly dependent upon individual judgment. Since in the case of the uvular sounds the system

has no method of indicating the change that takes place in the form of the soft palate (depression, rounding) and accordingly in the resonance-chamber as a whole, I reserve the exponent: <sup>k</sup> for designating that a sound is genetically and acoustically affected by such a change ( $\gamma^k$ ). — For the sake of completeness, I have also tried to classify the vowels according to the English (Bell's) system, although with some modification (v. § 16).

As regards my vowel-symbols, in the beginning of my stay in Greenland, I tried to use the current sound-symbols in my own and in other languages, but I soon found that they could not very well cover all of the Greenlandic vowel-sounds; there is no harmonious relation between the vowel-series of the different languages. I hope that those symbols which I have used will be the easier to read because in form they resemble corresponding or related symbols in other languages. The upright vowel-symbols indicate uvularized Greenlandic vowels. Two dots over a vowel indicate that it is relatively much closed and protruded; one dot over a vowel indicates the same but in less degree; only the vowels *i* and *ĩ* are excepted. A *u* or *ĩ* in the position of exponent indicates a glide in the direction of that sound (*a<sup>u</sup>*, *a<sup>ĩ</sup>*). It is only in the words enclosed in brackets, however, that I make strict use of these various diacritics.

**§ 13.** Survey of the commonest shades of vowel-articulations, which I observed in the North Greenlandic language, arranged according to 1) rounding of the lips 2) distance between the tongue and the palate 3) place of articulation.



## Not rounded vowels

ɾ32 <sup>g, gf</sup>	[j]	
ɾ3 <sup>f, fg</sup>	[i]	[it·aq] <sup>1</sup> [i <sup>w</sup> λ·it] <sup>2</sup> [nimeq] <sup>3</sup> [qila <sup>w</sup> t] <sup>4</sup>
ɾ3 <sup>g</sup>	[ɨ]	[i <sup>w</sup> k·ik] <sup>5</sup>
ɾ3 <sup>hg</sup>	[ɨ̃]	[ĩλ·o]? usually [ĩλ·o] <sup>6</sup>
ɾ34 <sup>fg</sup>	[ɛ]	[ina·] <sup>7</sup> [pɪn·ɛrpɔq] <sup>8</sup>
ɾ34 <sup>h</sup>	[ɛ]	[isɪna·] <sup>9</sup> [qɪŋ·ua] <sup>10</sup>
ɾ35 <sup>g, gf</sup>	[ɛ̃]	[krwa·] <sup>11</sup> [kr·same] <sup>12</sup> [a·sɪt] <sup>13</sup>
ɾ53 <sup>gf</sup>	[ẽ]	[pe·iarpa·] <sup>14</sup>
ɾ53 <sup>g, gh</sup>	[e]	[ata·ne] <sup>15</sup> [qänɔŋme] <sup>16</sup> [anore] <sup>17</sup> [eqe] <sup>18</sup>
ɾ5 <sup>k-i</sup>	[ɛ̃]	[ʼɛ̃rneɾ'a] <sup>19</sup> [nɛq'e? neq'e] <sup>20</sup>
ɾ5 <sup>h</sup>	[ø]?	[is·əqa·q] <sup>21</sup> [at·əqarpɔq] <sup>22</sup>
ɾ53 <sup>k-h</sup>	[ë]	[ërneq] <sup>23</sup> [ërneɾa] <sup>24</sup> [qërneɾpɔq] <sup>25</sup>
ɾ5 <sup>k-i</sup>	[è]	[pè·rpɔq] <sup>26</sup> [ɛ <sup>w</sup> ŋ·értüt] <sup>27</sup>
ɾ5 <sup>k-j</sup>	[e·]	[pe·rpɔq] <sup>28</sup> [nɛɾɛɾ'e·ram'e] <sup>29</sup>
ɾ5 <sup>k</sup>	[e]	[qeqertaq] <sup>30</sup> [qerquaq] <sup>31</sup> [eɾ·øk·ät] <sup>32</sup> [qam·eq] <sup>33</sup> [at <sup>s</sup> ·eq] <sup>34</sup> [täs'eq] <sup>35</sup>
ɾ7 (76) <sup>h</sup>	[ä]	[arnüt] <sup>36</sup> [nä't·üt] <sup>37</sup> [kit·üt] <sup>38</sup> [kisiän·e] <sup>39</sup>
ɾ76 <sup>i</sup>	[ä]	[täs'eq] <sup>40</sup> [nän'ɔq] <sup>41</sup>
ɾ75 <sup>i</sup>	[ä]	[män·a] <sup>42</sup> [nil'äk] <sup>43</sup> [miäk·ɔ·rpɔq] <sup>44</sup> (Up.)
ɾ7 <sup>j, jk</sup>	[a]	[ak·a·] <sup>45</sup>
ɾ78 or 8 <sup>j</sup>	[a·]	[a·ta·] <sup>46</sup> [sa·neq] <sup>47</sup> [a·m·a] <sup>48</sup>
ɾ76 <sup>k-h</sup>	[ä]	[qäɾ·öt] <sup>49</sup> (Uk.)
ɾ75 <sup>k-i</sup>	[ä]	[ärnaq] <sup>50?</sup>
ɾ7 (79) <sup>k</sup>	[a]	[qarsa·q] <sup>51</sup> [qaq·aq] <sup>52</sup>

<sup>1</sup> many years ago   <sup>2</sup> thou   <sup>3</sup> band, string, ribbon   <sup>4</sup> violin   <sup>5</sup> the gum  
<sup>6</sup> house   <sup>7</sup> its nest, dwelling   <sup>8</sup> is pretty   <sup>9</sup> he is looking at it   <sup>10</sup> the inner  
end of a fjord   <sup>11</sup> it bit him   <sup>12</sup> finally, at length   <sup>13</sup> (interj.) I told you so!  
<sup>14</sup> he takes it away   <sup>15</sup> beneath it   <sup>16</sup> yes, of course   <sup>17</sup> wind   <sup>18</sup> corner of  
the mouth, corner of a fjord   <sup>19</sup> his son   <sup>20</sup> meat   <sup>21</sup> it is cold   <sup>22</sup> he is  
named   <sup>23</sup> son   <sup>24</sup> his son   <sup>25</sup> is black   <sup>26</sup> has become loose, is lost   <sup>27</sup> old-  
fashioned songs   <sup>28</sup> = <sup>26</sup>   <sup>29</sup> when he had finished eating   <sup>30</sup> island   <sup>31</sup> sea-  
weed   <sup>32</sup> clothes that have been washed   <sup>33</sup> dog   <sup>34</sup> name   <sup>35</sup> lake.   <sup>36</sup> women  
<sup>37</sup> caps   <sup>38</sup> anchors   <sup>39</sup> on the other hand, but   <sup>40</sup> lake   <sup>41</sup> bear   <sup>42</sup> this  
<sup>43</sup> fresh water ice   <sup>44</sup> it is howling (scil. the dog)   <sup>45</sup> uncle (father's brother)  
<sup>46</sup> grandfather   <sup>47</sup> bone   <sup>48</sup> also, again   <sup>49</sup> stones that have slid down, talus  
<sup>50</sup> woman   <sup>51</sup> a loon (bird)   <sup>52</sup> mountain.

## Rounded vowels

$\alpha 43^{ba}$	$\gamma 3^{jk, j}$	[u]	[u $\varphi$ ·a] <sup>1</sup>	[puk·ip·ɔq] <sup>2</sup>	[una] <sup>3</sup>
	$\gamma 34^{gh}$	[ü]	[n $\ddot{u}$ j $\ddot{u}$ it·ɔq] <sup>4</sup>	[it $\ddot{u}$ ip·ɔq] <sup>5</sup>	[s $\ddot{u}$ jva] <sup>6</sup>
	$\gamma 4^{hi}$	[ó]	[sóna] <sup>7</sup>	[tonusón·ip·ɔq] <sup>8</sup>	[tót·ɔq] <sup>9</sup>
			[e $\rho$ ·ók·át] <sup>10</sup>		
$\alpha 54^{ab}$	$\gamma 4^{hg}$	[ö]	[t $\ddot{o}$ ·s·öt] <sup>11</sup>		
$\alpha 54^{ba}$	$\gamma 35^{ih}$	[ó·]	[t $\ddot{o}$ ·s·öt] <sup>11</sup>		
$\alpha 45^{ba}$	$\gamma 35$ or $53^{i, i}$	[u·]	[k $\rho$ ·k] <sup>12</sup>	[v·tɔq] <sup>13</sup>	[v·neg] <sup>14</sup>
			[v·m·án·aq] <sup>15</sup>		
$\alpha 45^b$	$\gamma 5^{jk}$	[o]	[anore] <sup>16</sup>	[sak·o] <sup>17</sup>	
$\alpha 45^{ba}$	$\gamma 53$ or $5^k$	[o]	[qo·q] <sup>18</sup>		
$\alpha 54$ or $56$	$\gamma 53^{k-j}$	[ɔ]	[ɔrn·ip·a·] <sup>19</sup>	[m $\ddot{u}$ n'itɔrnera] <sup>20</sup>	
$\alpha 76$	$\gamma 76^{k-i}$	[ɔ̄]	[ɔ̄rs·ɔ̄rs·uaq] <sup>21</sup>	(Arq.)	
$\alpha 76$	$\gamma 7^k$	[ɔ]	[ɔrs·ɔq] <sup>22</sup>	[ɔq·ɔq] <sup>23</sup>	

## Remarks

The following alphabetical indications of European vowels, which I quote from O. Jespersen's *Fonetik* (§§ 336—353) may be useful for comparison:

Not rounded:  $\alpha 4^e$   $\gamma 3^{st, tg}$  French: fini German: wie Danish: vide.  $\gamma 3^{ih}$  Russian: [i].  $\alpha 4^b$  or  $6^b$   $\gamma 4^g$  English: bit, mid German: bitte.  $\gamma 5^{gh}$  French: été German: See, gehn.  $\gamma 6^{gh}$  English: let, bed.  $\alpha 8^b$   $\gamma 7^{gh}$  French: fête.  $\gamma 78^b$  English: there, air. — Rounded:  $\alpha 35^{ba}$   $\gamma 3^{st}$  French: pu, lune Danish: yde, ny.  $\alpha 3^{ab}$  or  $ba$   $\gamma 3^j$  French: jour, rouge Danish: du, hule.  $\alpha 3^{ab}$  (or  $35$ )  $\gamma 4^j$  English: put, pull German: Mutter.  $\alpha 5$   $\gamma 5^j$  French: rose, chose German: Sohn, so.  $\alpha 5^b$  (or  $75^b$ )  $\gamma 5^{gh}$  French: peu Danish: öde.  $\alpha 7^{ba}$   $\gamma 7^j$  French: fort, mort.  $\alpha 7^b$   $\gamma 7^k$  English: all.

<sup>1</sup> there! (pointing at it) <sup>2</sup> it is low <sup>3</sup> he, she, it <sup>4</sup> tame, not shy  
<sup>5</sup> goes across (from fjord to fjord etc.) <sup>6</sup> its prow <sup>7</sup> what <sup>8</sup> it tastes (or smells) sweet <sup>9</sup> a reindeer <sup>10</sup> clothes that have been washed <sup>11</sup> a kind of big sewing-needle <sup>12</sup> river <sup>13</sup> a seal that has crept up <sup>14</sup> a burn <sup>15</sup> (place-name) <sup>16</sup> wind <sup>17</sup> implement (for hunting or fishing) <sup>18</sup> urine <sup>19</sup> he comes over to him <sup>20</sup> the wake after a kajak (Up.) <sup>21</sup> much blubber <sup>22</sup> blubber <sup>23</sup> the lee side.

The Greenlandic [e] and [ɛ] are more closed and protruded than the beginning of an English [e<sup>i</sup>] in they; likewise Gr. [o] and [ʊ] as compared with Eng. [o<sup>u</sup>] in though. — [ɛ] is a short mid-tongue e, uvularized. [e<sup>ɛ</sup>] is an *ä*-like uvular, [ë] an *e*-like uvular, [ê] slightly *ö*-like. [ɔ<sup>ɔ</sup>] is an *â*-like uvular (*â* = open o), [o] *o*-like, [ô] very slightly *ö*-like, [õ] slightly *ö*-like (only occasionally found).

§ 14. The Greenlandic vowel-shades can be tabulated in the following manner, there being two chief classes corresponding to the two spheres of resonance in the mouth.

Normal	Uvularized
<i>i</i> γ 3 <sup>fg</sup>	
<i>ɛ</i> γ 34 <sup>g</sup> . . . . .	<i>ë</i> γ 53 <sup>k-h</sup>
<i>ɛ</i> γ 35 <sup>gf</sup> . . . . .	<i>è</i> γ 5 <sup>k-i</sup>
<i>e</i> γ 53 <sup>g (gf)</sup> . . . . .	<i>e</i> γ 5 <sup>k-j</sup>
<i>e</i> γ 53 <sup>g (gh)</sup> . . . . .	<i>e</i> γ 5 <sup>k</sup>
<i>ə</i> γ 5 <sup>h</sup> . . . . .	<i>ɛ</i> γ 5 <sup>k-i</sup>
<i>ä</i> γ 76 <sup>h</sup> . . . . .	<i>ä</i> γ 76 <sup>k-h</sup>
<i>á</i> γ 76 <sup>i</sup>	
<i>a</i> γ 7 <sup>j</sup> . . . . .	<i>a</i> γ 7 <sup>k</sup>
<i>a</i> γ 78, 8 <sup>j (jk)</sup> . . .	<i>a</i> γ 9 <sup>k</sup>
<i>u</i> γ 3 <sup>j</sup> . . . . .	<i>o</i> γ 5 <sup>k</sup>
<i>ü</i> γ 34 <sup>gh</sup> . . . . .	<i>õ</i> γ 53 <sup>k-j</sup>
<i>ó</i> γ 4 <sup>h</sup> . . . . .	<i>õ</i> γ 76 <sup>k-i</sup>
<i>ʊ</i> γ 35 <sup>i</sup> . . . . .	<i>ɔ</i> γ 7 <sup>k</sup>
<i>o</i> γ 5 <sup>jk</sup> . . . . .	<i>ɔ</i> γ 8 <sup>k</sup>

The uvularized vowels are always followed by one of the uvular consonants (*q*, *ɣ*, *r*, *ρ*); after these consonants no uvularizing takes place; a short vowel before a single *r* is only mildly uvularized, but a long vowel is affected in the usual

degree; between two *r*-sounds, however, (as in *rar*) even a short vowel is strongly affected; a vowel preceding *r* + consonant (*rs*, *rt*, etc.) is strongly uvularized, and before *r* + nasal (*rŋ*, *rn*, *rm*) also nasalized. [è á ô] occur only before *rn* and *rŋ*.

The question as to whether these vowels ought to be called uvular or uvularized, depends on whether or not it can be proved that the uvular quality is due to some outside influence (for instance the addition of a suffix beginning with an uvular consonant); in lack of such proof we have to assume the uvularization to have belonged originally to the vowel. In such a word as [qe*qertag*]<sup>1</sup>, we know nothing about the origin of the *e*-sounds, therefore they are original in the word in its existing form, accordingly not uvularized, but uvular. The *a*-sound, on the other hand, may be called uvularized, for we see that it owes its uvular quality to the following *q*, since in combination with other suffixes it remains a normal *a*. Ex: [qe*qerta*<sup>u</sup>*wôq*]<sup>2</sup> [qe*qerta*]<sup>3</sup> etc. For the sake of convenience, I shall use only the expression "uvularized" in speaking of the vowels, uvular of the consonants.

This juxtaposition of vowel + uvular consonant is very frequent in the Eskimo language, and it always results in the uvularization of the vowel. The two sounds — the vowel + the consonant — in reality make up a phonetic whole. In the formation of the uvularized vowel, that articulation of the soft palate which corresponds to *r* is assumed. If it is a *q* (not *r*) that follows the vowel, the uvular stopped consonant is anticipated in the pronunciation of the vowel by the uvular *r*-friction: [a<sup>r</sup>q] or simply written [arq]. It is clear that these vowels must be produced in a peculiar manner.

In the articulation of *q*, *r*, etc. an enlargement of the innermost part of the mouth-chamber takes place, as has been shown in § 6. The upper part of the soft palate arches upward

<sup>1</sup> an island    <sup>2</sup> it is an island    <sup>3</sup> its island.



while the back of the tongue presses back and up against the lowest part of the soft palate in order to form the slit or the closure which is requisite for these sounds. All the back part of the mouth-passage is thereby brought to act as a new extended resonance-chamber of a peculiar form; since this is in all essentials independent of the movements of the rest of the tongue, a vowel-position and an uvular articulation can very well be concurrent. Different distances between the tongue and the palate will give corresponding kinds of *a*-, *e*-, and *o*-vowels. In determining the resonance-chamber of the vowel, the palate-distance is measured up along the wall of the soft palate from the same point ( $\gamma^k$ ) where the *r*- and *q*-articulation takes place, i. e. the foot of the soft palate ( $r = \gamma^{2k}$ ,  $a = \gamma^{7k}$ ). One might use as illustration here a covered canal-lock where the water can only just spurt in at the very bottom (*r*-friction) while the height of the lock measured from the same point determines the resonance and natural pitch of the water's roaring.

The vowels which are affected in this way have a remarkable hollow and grating sound; in the case of *o* and *e* it is occasionally somewhat *ö*-like on account of the inner rounding in the mouth-chamber.

There are, then, two entirely different kinds of resonance-chambers to be taken into account in examining the Eskimo vowel-sounds, and to them correspond the two chief classes of vowels which I have determined upon in the vowel-system of this language. The same distance between the tongue and the palate will give different sounds according to whether the uvular friction takes place or not. An *e* between two *n*'s and an *e* between two *r*'s are acoustically widely different sounds. — The vowels that are produced without uvular friction are of the same kind as the majority of our vowels; the uvularized vowels are of a more special nature. In French, for example, vowels before *r* are not uvularized; in Danish it may occur, even if to a much less degree than in the Eskimo language.

The Eskimo uvularized or uvular vowels really contain a distinct vowel element and a distinct consonant element. They stand therefore, as it were, at the boundary between these two chief classes of speech-sounds, or they may perhaps be regarded as constituting by themselves a third class of sounds occupying an intermediate position between the vowels and consonants.

The Greenlandic Eskimo language does not make use of any real [y] (as in French *tu*, *rue*, Danish *ny*, German *früh*) or [ø] or [ö] (as in French *peu*, Danish *sød*; French *seul*, Danish *søn*, German *schön*). The Eskimo sounds which lie nearest to these are [ü ö] and [ō], vowels between *u—y* and *o—ö*, pronounced with the lips only slightly rounded; they seldom occur long. — The Eskimo wide [ɛ] is generally nearer the narrow [i] than is the case with the sound in English *hit*, *fill*, *in* (in Danish *lidt*, *find*); the *e*-sound is always narrow, even more so than in French *été*. There is no pure long *i*. — The mid vowel *ə* occurs but seldom, and never as a final as in our languages. The sound is as a rule slightly uvularized in the Eskimo language, (here indicated by the symbol [ɛ̠]) and as such is not easy to distinguish from the other uvularized *e*-sounds. — Of the *ä*-like sounds, the [e̠] which is influenced by *q* is the most peculiar because it lies so far back in the mouth. About in the middle of the mouth lies the half-wide [ä̠], which approximates the French [æ̠]-sound in *fête*, but it must be noted that it is short. — A mid-*i* occurs, I think, sometimes before [k̠ ɲ̠] and [ʎ̠], but I do not know if it occurs sporadically or regularly.

§ 15. In trying to determine the Eskimo vowels according to Bell's and Sweet's\*) systems, I have come to the following

\*) H. Sweet: *A Primer of Phonetics*. Oxford 1892. pag. 21.

results. They show that I have been forced to go beyond the limits of the system, and that not even those Greenlandic sounds that belong inside of the limits are always to be identified with any of the sounds given by Sweet, but in reality belong in certain intermediate positions. — Examples, v. § 13.

### Not rounded

[i] hfn [ɪ] hfw [ɪ̃] mfn [e] mfn  
 [ə̃] mx (nw) and mb (nw) [ē] m (ultra-b) xn [ē̃] m (ultra-b) bn (or nw)  
 [e] m ultra-bn [ä] l (ultra-b) x (nw) [ä̃] l (ultra-b) bn [a] l ultra-bn  
 [a] lb (nw) [ä] lx (nw) [ä̃] lx (nw)

### Rounded

[u] hbn [ü] hx (or f) n  
 [ʊ̃] mbn [ʊ̃] hxw [ʊ̃] mxn [ö] h (fx) w?  
 [o] mbn [o] m ultra-bn [ö̃] l (or m?) ultra-bn  
 [ɔ̃] l ultra-bn [ö̃] l (ultra-b) x (nw)

These results make it possible to draw up the following table showing a fourfold vowel-system:

	Not rounded				Rounded			
	ultra back	back	mixed	front	ultra back	back	mixed	front
narrow high wide				i		u	ü	
narrow mid wide	e ē ē̃ (è) (ë)			e ẽ	o	o ũ	ö̃	
narrow low wide	a ä ä̃				ɔ̃			
		a	ä	ä̃		ö̃		

The uvularized vowels, which constitute the fourth (ultra back) row, and thus in reality stand outside of the ordinary

system, owe their peculiarity, as we have seen, to circumstances which are absent in the case of the other (normal) vowels, and which find merely an imperfect expression and place in the system under the name "ultra back".

§ 16. The form of the lips at the formation of the vowels remains for brief consideration. The Greenlander's lips are not apt to move out of their natural position of rest which, when it is really typical, is half open, the thick under lip hanging slightly down and being also perhaps somewhat protruded forward. Still, of course, the lips do not remain passive during the formation of the sounds. Aside from their activity at the formation of the consonants, they have here, as in other languages, to meet the demands of the vowels by supplementing the up and down movement of the jaws with their own slight and often unnoticeable bendings, roundings or tightenings.

I shall give here in concise form the results of my observations and notes concerning lip positions at the formation of vowels. They are in large part connected with experiments which I made partly in *Oommannaq* and partly in *Upernavik*.

*i* and *e* seem to be pronounced as a rule with the lips more open than in our languages. In distinct pronunciation the upper lip is drawn slightly up, as in [oq'ip'ɔq]<sup>1</sup> [*anore*]<sup>2</sup> [qā<sup>w</sup>s'ɾt]<sup>3</sup> [*sule*]<sup>4</sup>, likewise in the case of [e] in [qiteq'uλ'onqo], [nerere'rame] etc. — Especially in the case of *s* + *i* or *e*, I sometimes saw the lips drawn in this strange manner so that they separated from each other and the corners of the mouth drooped a little. If the upper lip remains motionless, the under lip is only lowered so much the more\*).

\*) It is very significant in this connection that the word which means: "speaks in the southern dialect" (where in certain words *i* and *e* are substituted for *o* and *u*) is related to a word meaning "to show teeth" (scil. a dog) (Kl. Diet. p. 72: *ersangawok* — *ersagpok*).

<sup>1</sup> is light, not heavy    <sup>2</sup> wind    <sup>3</sup> many, several    <sup>4</sup> yet.



The deep [a] forces the under lip still farther down and the distance between the lips (and the jaws) is considerably increased.

In the pronunciation of [eq<sup>l</sup>eq], I noticed that the corners of the mouth were very much drawn back and that the mouth-opening was narrow.

All the rounded sounds are pronounced with a narrower passage between the lips than in the case of the *i*- and *e*-sounds.

In a word like [nυ·a], there seems to occur no other change between [υ·] and [a] than a wider opening of the lips; the lips are not drawn back; the *υ*-like element is not so much due to any rounding of the lips as to the strongly retracted position of the tongue. Occasionally, however, I observed both marked rounding and marked pouting of the lips, as in [o·ma] [tv·s·út] (o· and υ· with α 53<sup>ab</sup>), and there is no doubt that some rounding, even if ever so little, always takes place, narrowest in the case of [u]; but as a rule the difference between the rounding and the slip-shaped position of rest is remarkably small. The inner rounding which occurs in the innermost part of the mouth in the pronunciation of those vowels that are influenced by *r* and *q* gives them a more closed character than they would get from the rounding of the lips alone. The long [ɔ·] therefore sounds more closed (and has a deeper natural pitch) than in English all, law or in French mort, although the lip-opening in all these cases is about the same. But the short [ɔ] before *r* often sounds more open in Greenlandic. The two [ɔ]'s of [qɔ·r·ɔrsuaq] are not quite similar.

The result, if any result at all can be reached, is something like this: when the Greenlander talks, his lip-movements are more tardy and vague than one would expect from the liveliness of his voice and his tongue. His lips move relatively less forward and backward than up and down. In certain words or certain sound-groups, he is satisfied with a mere approach to labialization.

§ 17. On comparing with each other the various pronunciations of the different individuals as they are alphabetically indicated on the phonetical lists, it appears that in the case of most of the sounds, there are individual differences. Thus on the *t*-list, the indications vary between the two extremes  $\beta^{ef}$  and  $\beta^d$  (the points of contact of the point of the tongue), on the *k*-list, between  $\gamma^i$  and  $\gamma^{ih}$  (the points of contact of the back of the tongue); on the *v*-list, the indications of the position and form of the lips vary between  $\alpha^d$  and  $\alpha^n$ .  $\alpha 1$  and  $\alpha 32$ . Will it do, on the basis of these observations, to determine the articulation of the sounds concerned, to establish a general value for the sound-symbols (letters) illustrated in the lists?

The answer might be that the absolute establishment of a symbol's sound-value always must depend upon an abstraction. In the first place, the manner of articulation of every sound depends very much upon the nature of the whole sound-group in which it occurs. In the second place, there are always personal differences to be taken into account, not only between individuals of different districts, and not only between individuals who live next door to each other, but also in the same individual's pronunciation at different times\*).

What we essentially want here, however, is not so much these small individual variations as just the main tendency toward similar places of articulation which is common to all individuals and which is constant in the same individual at all

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\*) In this respect, my observations quite agree with Hermann Paul's view of the life and formation of speech-sounds (Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte, 1898) § 37:

„Geringe Schwankungen in der Aussprache des gleichen Wortes an der gleichen Satzstelle sind unausbleiblich. Denn überhaupt bei jeder Bewegung des Körpers, mag sie auch noch so eingeübt, mag das Bewegungsgefühl auch noch so vollkommen entwickelt sein, bleibt doch noch etwas Unsicherheit übrig“ etc. § 40: „Wenn schon das Bewegungsgefühl des Einzelnen seine Bewegungen nicht völlig beherrschen kann und selbst kleinen Schwankungen ausgesetzt ist, so muss der freie Spielraum für die Bewegung, der innerhalb einer Gruppe von Individuen besteht, natürlich noch grösser sein, indem es dem Bewegungsgefühl jedes Einzelnen doch niemals gelingen wird dem Lautbilde, das ihm vorschwebt, vollständig Genüge zu leisten.“

times. About each sound-symbol is grouped a number of slightly varying positions of the speech-organs, but among these there will always be found something like a tendency toward a norm, and the sound-symbol stands for this norm.

As regards the variations, the sound will not as a rule be in any perceptible degree acoustically influenced by the small functional inaccuracies, which are only noticed by the critical observer, not by the one for whom speech is but a means of communication. The speakers themselves believe that their pronunciation is in accurate agreement with the sound-pictures which they have inherited through the ear, and they either do not notice the deviations, or consider them of no account. Only in those cases where it is necessary to speak especially distinctly, as for instance to foreigners, to deaf people, in calling at a distance or in speaking solemnly, may there be a tendency purposely to emphasize or even exaggerate a sound's peculiarities\*).

The Greenlanders produce this exaggerated effect less by any change of lip-position than by the activity of the inner part of the mouth. I have heard a woman pronounce the interjection [a<sup>h</sup>o'a], which expresses great surprise, so that it sounded somewhat like [ɔ<sup>h</sup>o'a]. Thus also [mä'same] (certainly) becomes [mɔs'am'e] in an indignant tone (*Omng.*), and [a<sup>h</sup>p] (yes) becomes [a<sup>h</sup>p] (*Ngt.*).

The Greenlander generally talks with great composure and not very loudly, and articulates accordingly, as a rule, distinctly and consistently. The uvular consonants present merely insignificant variations with respect to place of articulation. The lip-sounds and back sounds vary more. Of the point sounds, *l*, *j* and *s* seem to be most variable.

\*) Cf. O. Bremer (Deutsche Phonetik, 1893) § 118:

„Je lebhafter ein Mensch ist, je mehr es ihn drängt seinen Empfindungen auch in seiner Sprache einen möglichst intensiven Ausdruck zu verleihen, um so mehr sucht er auch die akustische Wirkung jedes Sprechschalles zu erhöhen, indem er dessen Klang möglichst extrem gestaltet. Am klarsten tritt das bei den Vokalen zu Tage.“

§ 18. Basis of articulation. — The small changes which in the course of time take place in the words of every language and break down the traditions of form, depend partly upon the physical nature of the organs of articulation and partly upon the nature of the psychical elements that come into play (the psychical basis). Both of these factors are to a certain extent determined by race, and their activity extends through larger or smaller groups of individuals, who forget the old pronunciation when they accept the new. The change may be due to indolence and carelessness as well as to liveliness in the speakers.

With respect to the psychical factor it is sufficient here to refer to what will be said in the following paragraphs about tempo, stress and pitch.

With respect to the physical factor, it is the favorite positions of the organs of articulation that form the prime motive (basis) for the formation of the characteristic shades of sound. The normal position of the tongue can be reckoned from the average of its movement-tendencies.

As for the Greenlandic language, the following description of the tongue's favorite position corresponds best with the results of my phonetic lists: the surface of the tongue is apt to lie near the roof of the mouth, is convex at the back, slightly protruded, and in front stretched out very far toward the teeth. The whole of the movable body of the tongue takes part in the vertical movements without any great curvature at any point. So when the point of the tongue is raised or lowered, all the front part of the tongue follows the movement.

The activity of the tongue stretches over the greatest field possible, namely from the innermost limit at the root of the tongue to the outermost limit at the edge of the upper teeth. The places of articulation lie widely scattered over this extent, so combinations of articulatory movements take a long time.



One frequently gets an opportunity to observe this normal position of the tongue (point of the tongue analph.  $\beta^d$ ) when a Greenlander is speaking; especially if he has lost some of his front teeth, the point of his tongue is continually to be seen in motion just behind the row of teeth and every moment touching their sharp edge or pressing against the inner surface of the upper teeth. What is not to be seen is that raising of the back of the tongue which in many cases takes place at the same time as the articulation in the front part of the mouth, and which acoustically results in the post-palatalization of the vowels.

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## II. Dynamics of the sounds.

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§ 19. The usual tempo of the spoken language must be said to be slow. Especially in the remote settlements, far away from the colonies, the Eskimo generally spoke in a strikingly slow and drawling manner. The inhabitants in such places are few and rarely have anything to do with the Europeans. It was not only the old people, but also the young ones, who spoke slowly, the men perhaps more so than the women. Furthermore I think I have reason to assert that the unmixed Greenlanders speak more slowly than the mixed inhabitants. This struck me especially at the lonely settlements in the Aulåtsiwik Fjord south of Egedesminde. These primitive Greenlanders articulated their words with remarkable repose; it was as if there were no such thing as time for them; syllable followed upon syllable steadily, slowly, quietly, as the drops drip down from an icicle which is thawing. The long sounds were dwelt upon for a long time as if they were points of rest in the process of articulation. Such a question

as *alin'eqaratil'o* (and without their (i. e. the nets) getting torn?) lasted between 3 and 4 seconds, and just as slowly were pronounced the words *peq'aŋ'ik-ä'l'armat* (since there was nothing yet to be found), and *ajörnarpäla'rq'aq* (it is too difficult to do). Not only the long sounds in these words, but also the short ones are extended in duration on account of the andante tempo.

Of course the talking may become rapid and lively when the Greenlander becomes excited for some reason or other, but the real Greenlander does not often become excited.

This characteristic must be kept in mind during the following sections on the quantity and accent of this language.

§ 20. Quantity. All the stopped consonants — the nasalized as well as the unnasalized — occur both short and long (geminated). The same applies to the open consonants (fricatives) except that these are generally voiced when short, whereas they become unvoiced and aspirated when they are lengthened. The fricatives become unvoiced and aspirated when they are lengthened: [*iwik*] plur. [*iç'it*]<sup>1</sup>, [*aləq*] plur. [*arλ'it*]<sup>2</sup>, [*nigaq*] plur. [*niχ'üt*]<sup>3</sup>, [*neriwəq*]<sup>4</sup> cf. [*nep'iwik*]<sup>5</sup>. Even when the aspirated fricatives are shortest, they seem to be somewhat longer than the other (short) consonants, which is probably due to the special exertion that is necessary in the formation of these sounds on account of the aspiration. *s* too occurs both short and long; but *j* is seldom long, occasionally in XI [*su<sup>u</sup>j'omut*]<sup>6</sup>, in XIX [*po:j'əq*]<sup>7</sup>, very often in the song-refrain [*a'j'a'*].

I may remark once for all that after an *r* — i. e. after an uvularized vowel — the consonant is always long (only a

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<sup>1</sup> grass   <sup>2</sup> a harpoon-line   <sup>3</sup> bird-snare   <sup>4</sup> he is eating   <sup>5</sup> an eating-place,  
a table   <sup>6</sup> = *sujumut* forward, straight on   <sup>7</sup> = *pujog* smoke.

very few exceptions, if any!). As a rule, I give no indications of length in such cases. *arnaq* properly = *arn'aq* etc.

Long vowels are very common and have a length corresponding to the length of the long consonants. [ä ü], the neutral [ə ε] and the pure [i] and [u] occur only as short sounds. For long *e* and *i* there is one sound in common which lies just between them both, namely [ɛ']; for long *o* and *u* there is also one sound in common which lies between them both, namely [ɔ']. When these approach very near to pure *e* or *o*, the symbols [e'] [o'] are used. Long *a* sometimes approaches [ɔ ä] sometimes [a].

Quantity — the relative length of the sounds\*) — is maintained as accurately as is necessary in order that the words may not be misunderstood. The full significance of this becomes clear when I add that very often the meaning of a word chiefly depends on whether a certain sound in the word is pronounced long or short. The Eskimo language is very sensitive and conservative in this respect, so much the more so on account of the frequent phonetical similarity between words of different meaning.

There are but few pairs of words where we find complete similarity; the difference in quantity is in most cases accompanied by a corresponding difference in stress (dynamic accent). Thus in the following examples:

[n'a'] its lair, nest	[n'a' or 'ɛ''n'a'] the steep side of a mountain or a house etc.
[nât's'eq] a floor	[n'ât'seq] a seal (phoca foetida)

\*) The Swedish phonetician, Fr. Wulff remarks about quantity as contrasted with accent: "The quantity is, so to speak, inherent in the words, i. e. depends more upon the nature of the sound-groups than on any special intention of the speaker; I mean the quantity is fixed and involuntary". (Några ord om aksent, i Forhandlingar paa det 2. nordiske filologmøde i Kristiania 1881, ed. by G. Storm 1883.)

[ <i>usuk</i> ] membrum	[ <i>us'uk</i> ] ground-seal (phoca barbata)
[ <i>uneg</i> ] the armpit	[ <i>un'eg</i> ] a skin without hair
[ <i>ap'a</i> ] an auk	[ <i>a'p'a</i> ] 1) his companion 2) he brings it, comes with it
[ <i>is'a</i> ] his eye	[ <i>'is'e</i> ] frost cold
[ <i>isip'ɔq</i> ] he falls into the water	[ <i>is'ip'ɔq</i> ] 1) it is cold 2) he gets or has got something in his eye
[ <i>ikup'a</i> ] it pecks at it with its beak	[ <i>ikup'a</i> ] he joins or folds it together with something
[ <i>atɔrpa</i> ] he uses it	[ <i>at'ɔrpa</i> ] he touched it
[ <i>at'ɛrpa</i> ] he brings it down	[ <i>at'serpa</i> ] he gives him a name
[ <i>uwaŋa</i> ] I	[ <i>uwaŋ'a</i> ] from there
[ <i>mān'a</i> ] this	[ <i>mā'n'a</i> ] now
[ <i>qisup'a</i> ] he puts his nails into it	[ <i>qis'up'a</i> ] he puts fuel on the fire
[ <i>nām'ap'ɔq</i> ] he carries something on his back	[ <i>nā'm'ap'ɔq</i> ] that is enough
[ <i>napil'ɔŋo</i> ] breaking it across	[ <i>nā'pil'ɔŋo</i> ] killing him or it
[ <i>pasiwa</i> ] he suspects him	[ <i>pā'siwa</i> ] he understands it

Very similar to each other are also the following:

[ <i>kina</i> ] who	[ <i>kɛna</i> ] a face
[ <i>uneg</i> ] the armpit	[ <i>ɔneg</i> ] a burn
[ <i>qilāk</i> ] the sky	[ <i>qila'q</i> ] the palate
[ <i>qŋaq</i> ] a nostril	[ <i>qŋa'q</i> ] the sharp edge of the shin-bone; the bridge of the nose
[ <i>qilerpɔq</i> ] he is bound	[ <i>qɛlerpɔq</i> ] he begins to long for something
[ <i>qimawɔq</i> ] he flees	[ <i>qɛmawɔq</i> ] he is lively
[ <i>awar'pɔq</i> ] he hits himself on the back of the head	[ <i>a'war'pɔq</i> ] he is out reindeer-hunting
[ <i>qiawɔq</i> ] he is weeping	[ <i>qɛawɔq</i> ] he feels cold



In the above words, the quantity is original, i. e. the cause of the difference in quantity is unknown, and there is probably no connection between the two words of each pair (except between *uwaŋa* — *uwaŋ·a*, *maŋ·a* — *ma·n·a*).

In the following words, the differences in quantity are most likely due to sound-assimilations caused by the addition of suffixes ("gemination", "geminated sounds"):

[ <i>atɔrpa</i> ] is it used?	[ <i>atɔrpa·</i> ] he uses it [ <i>a</i> ]
[ <i>nuna</i> ] land	[ <i>nuna·</i> ] his land
[ <i>kame·</i> ] his or their boots	[ <i>kam·e</i> ] his own (suus) boot
[ <i>-a·ne</i> ] } compounded verbal	[ <i>-a·n·e</i> ] } the same suffixes in
[ <i>-a·tɪt</i> ] } personal suffixes in	[ <i>-a·t·it</i> ] } the plural
[ <i>-a·ŋa</i> ] } the singular	[ <i>-a·ŋ·a</i> ] }
[ <i>pɪ·e</i> ] the pretty one	[ <i>pɪ·e·</i> ] the ugly one
[ <i>perqɪp·ɔq</i> ] he is well	[ <i>perqr·p·ɔq</i> ] he is not well, is ill

When a word is used interrogatively, the last syllable is often lengthened. In the case of *ila*, the meaning becomes strongly differentiated besides:

[ <i>ila</i> ] certainly, of course	[ <i>ila··</i> ] is it not so? am I not right?
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It is very difficult to find words which have two forms but only one meaning. In Kl. dictionary: *qumaq* = *quma·q* (an intestinal worm). Yet my memoranda of tales etc. now and then seem to indicate that occasionally long sounds may be shortened and short sounds, lengthened, as in [*ujaraq*] for [*ujar·raq*] stone; [*ɪnerpɔ·rɔ·q*] for [*ɪnerpɔrɔ·q*] he is said to be ready; [*pɔ·a·*] for [*pɔ·a*] his bag, sack, etc. (cf. pag. 120).

Very often I heard an interchange of [*i*] and [*ɛ*] in the syllable *-it*, when it occurred at the end of a word: [*suwɛt*] for [*suwit*], what are you doing? what do you want? [*a·<sup>no</sup>p·ɛt*] for

[a<sup>h</sup>ρ<sup>it</sup>], walruses. — This same prolongation of the vowel in final *-it* is also found in the dialect of Labrador\*).

If we now sum up the above results concerning quantity in Greenlandic, we shall find that there are four types of combination\*\*):

short vowel + short consonant [nuna] land  
 short vowel + long consonant [mān·a] this  
 long vowel + short consonant [ma·ne] here  
 long vowel + long consonant [ma·n·a] now

All of these groups may be combined in any order at all. There may be words which consist merely of long sounds, so that the quantity of the single sounds can be determined only by comparison with other words pronounced by the same individual, e. g. [a·p·a']<sup>1</sup>. In other words, one or two short sounds may be shut in between a series of long sounds: [o·qāt·a·rp·a']<sup>2</sup> [nak·aŋ·is·aŋ·ilaq]<sup>3</sup>. It has already been shown that a long vowel may occur as a final with some special shade of meaning: [nuna] land, [nuna·] his land. I have also heard a long consonant as a final: [ak·]<sup>4</sup> [ana·na·k·]<sup>5</sup>. Consonants in the beginning of words are generally short, but a long *s* may be heard in [s·e·rpəq]<sup>6</sup> [s·rt] or [s·e·t]<sup>7</sup>.

These features give us the impression that the phonetical character of the Eskimo language is such that any number at all of all kinds of long sounds can follow immediately after each other without being shortened.

In its quantitative principle of sound-grouping, the Eskimo language stands out in sharp contrast to the Indo-European languages, as their phonetical principles are at present. Long

\*) Bourquin: Labr. Gr. § 76, 2 (p. 32), note.

\*\*) Just as for instance in Finnish (Jespersen: Fonetik § 391).

<sup>1</sup> he is fetching it <sup>2</sup> he is trying, testing it <sup>3</sup> it will surely fall down  
<sup>4</sup> there, please take it <sup>5</sup> (my, mother! (in the language of children). <sup>6</sup> it is whistling, hissing <sup>7</sup> willows.

stopped consonants are not at all common in the latter; they occur for instance in Swedish and Italian\*). Syllables consisting of a long vowel + a long consonant are, I think, unknown in most of them\*\*).

In Russian, all the sounds are about equally long, or, at all events, the differences in quantity are so little that they are of no importance for the language\*\*\*). But even with respect to those languages which, like English, French, German, Danish etc., distinguish between long and short sounds of every kind, I think I can assert that the differences in quantity are less than in the Eskimo language. In other words, a long vowel or consonant in English, French etc. is of shorter duration than the corresponding long sound in Greenlandic.

So much the more strongly is the language characterized by the above types of its phonetical quantity, and so much the greater is the difficulty for the foreigner who is trying to acquire these peculiarities which are so different from what he has been used to in his own language.

**§ 21. Dynamic Accent and Rhythm.** The following examples are arranged in such a manner that those words are given first whose syllables are all constructed alike (two (three) short syllables or two (three) long syllables), then such words where long and short syllables are combined in various ways.

\*) Jespersen: *Fonetik* § 391.

\*\*) They are found in Swedish as exceptional cases. Cf. Ax. Kock: "Die Alt- und Neuschwedische Accentuierung" (Strassburg 1901) § 11. The rule for Swedish is otherwise (§ 7): "Eine silbe mit hauptaccent enthält nur einen langen laut, eine silbe mit halbaccent nur einen halblangen laut; die übrigen laute dieser silben sind kurz."

\*\*\*) Sweet: *Russian Pronunciation*, *Transact. Philol. Soc.* 1877 — 79. — Jespersen: *Fonetik* § 391.

# I. Similarly constructed syllables.

2 syllables in a word; the stress is the same in both syllables:

[ik'a]<sup>1</sup> [sak'o]<sup>2</sup> [ni'k'o]<sup>3</sup> [a'ta']<sup>4</sup> [o'toq]<sup>5</sup> [kuλ'oq]<sup>6</sup>  
[sus'oq]<sup>7</sup> [ik'e']<sup>8</sup> [a'p'a']<sup>9</sup>

In the following words, the stress is sometimes weakened in one of the syllables, so the stress is uncertain:

[kina]<sup>10</sup> [sōna]<sup>11</sup> [sila]<sup>12</sup> [nuna]<sup>13</sup> [siko]<sup>14</sup> [ise]<sup>15</sup>

2 syllables in a word; final stress (the last syllable stronger than the first):

[tik'eq]<sup>16</sup> [qan'oq]<sup>17</sup> [an'a']<sup>18</sup> [qil'ak]<sup>19</sup> [saw'ik]<sup>20</sup> [nāj'a']<sup>21</sup>  
[am'e']<sup>22</sup> [tās'eq]<sup>23</sup> [is'eq]<sup>24</sup> [al'eq]<sup>25</sup> [ap'ut]<sup>26</sup> [eq'e]<sup>27</sup> [neq'e,  
nɛq'e]<sup>28</sup>

3 syllables in a word; the same stress on them all (or a slight tendency to weaken the middle stress a little):

[takisōt]<sup>29</sup> [nulia]<sup>30</sup> [pania]<sup>31</sup> [panŋa]<sup>32</sup> [auroŋa]<sup>33</sup>  
[ikane]<sup>34</sup> [tās'o'na]<sup>35</sup> [ke'artōq]<sup>36</sup> [un'ām'āt]<sup>37</sup> [ōrnr'ip'a']<sup>38</sup>  
[as'arn'eq]<sup>39</sup> [o'm'ān'aq]<sup>40</sup> [nō'sō'ta']<sup>41</sup> [erqerqōq]<sup>42</sup>

3 syllables in a word; weak final stress:

[qupiw'a']<sup>43</sup> [ataŋ'o]<sup>44</sup> [pami'oq]<sup>45</sup> [səqin'eq]<sup>46</sup>

4 or more syllables in a word; the same stress on them all (or a slight tendency to differentiate as indicated in the brackets):

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
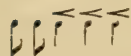
<sup>1</sup> over yonder! (toward the north) <sup>2</sup> weapon, implement <sup>3</sup> dried meat  
<sup>4</sup> his or her grandfather <sup>5</sup> a seal which has crept up (on the ice) <sup>6</sup> thumb  
<sup>7</sup> never mind! <sup>8-9</sup> (interjections) <sup>10</sup> who <sup>11</sup> what <sup>12</sup> the air, the weather  
<sup>13</sup> grounds, land <sup>14</sup> ice on the sea <sup>15</sup> an eye <sup>16</sup> fore-finger <sup>17</sup> how <sup>18</sup> his  
or her elder brother <sup>19</sup> sky <sup>20</sup> knife <sup>21</sup> his younger sister <sup>22</sup> their skin (the  
animals') <sup>23</sup> inland lake <sup>24</sup> an eye (= ise) <sup>25</sup> harpoon line <sup>26</sup> snow on the  
ground <sup>27</sup> corner, corner of the mouth <sup>28</sup> meat (of a dead animal) <sup>29</sup> long  
ones (Greenlandic boots) <sup>30</sup> his wife <sup>31</sup> his daughter <sup>32</sup> my daughter  
<sup>33</sup> toward the north <sup>34</sup> over yonder <sup>35</sup> in that way <sup>36</sup> one with a cut in  
(name) <sup>37</sup> when it became night <sup>38</sup> he goes over to him <sup>39</sup> east wind  
<sup>40</sup> (usual name applied to mountains) <sup>41</sup> (place-name) <sup>42</sup> the little finger  
<sup>43</sup> he cleaves it <sup>44</sup> listen, pay attention! <sup>45</sup> tail of an animal <sup>46</sup> the sun.



[pam'iu'a]<sup>1</sup> [t'äs'ius'aq]<sup>2</sup> [qiwiaramē]<sup>3</sup> [aŋajua]<sup>4</sup>  
 [oruluw'əq]<sup>5</sup> [täs'aŋ'a'i'n'aq]<sup>6</sup> [u'ä'rsa'i'sə'q]<sup>7</sup> [ta'i'ma'i'ka'ä'ar'ä't]<sup>8</sup>

## II. Unlike syllables.

### Regularly alternating stress:

 [sin'ip'is'e]<sup>9</sup> [i's'ŋ'aw'ä't]<sup>10</sup> [qap'ap.əŋ'ut]<sup>11</sup>  
 [an'ä.ġ'am'e]<sup>12</sup> [nik'ərgaŋ'əq]<sup>13</sup> (Up.) [kaŋ'a'i't's'i'aq]<sup>14</sup>  
 [ulu'arq'ərt'ə'q]<sup>15</sup> [a'jor'un'arp'əq]<sup>16</sup>  
 [kiap'ä'ä'r'q'a'q]<sup>17</sup> [siko'iu'it'əq]<sup>18</sup> [ŋ'ut'ä'q]<sup>19</sup>  
 [p'isiniaralu'arp'əŋ'ə'q]<sup>20</sup>

### Irregularly alternating stress:

[u'k'us'is'ä't]<sup>21</sup> [p'in'is'üs'e']<sup>22</sup> [ilul'is'ä't]<sup>23</sup> [ärs'arnər'it]<sup>24</sup>  
 [ä's'arn'ersə'aq]<sup>25</sup> [ip'um'er'lut'it]<sup>26</sup> [ä'rnut'äŋ'uar'a]<sup>27</sup>  
 [neruk'ar'əŋ'it]<sup>28</sup> [an'is'äŋ'il'atit]<sup>29</sup> [in'arnial'er'pəŋ'a]<sup>30</sup>  
 [pu'j'ərsimas'əq]<sup>31</sup> [tak'əŋ'ä'k'up'əŋ'a]<sup>32</sup> [t'arq'ar'ə'is'ä'r'u'ä'un'e]<sup>33</sup>  
 [n'ak'äŋ'is'äŋ'il'aq]<sup>34</sup> [p'e'r's'in'ar'əŋ'o]<sup>35</sup>  
 [ut'ərg'aŋ'uler'ä'rtuler'ä'mata]<sup>40</sup>

The dynamic accent in the Eskimo language is only to a slight degree emancipated from the quantity. Stress and quantity go hand in hand, so that it is difficult to say which of them is primary. Before a long unvoiced consonant, there is always

<sup>1</sup> its (the animal's) tail <sup>2</sup> place-name (cove in a fjord) <sup>3</sup> when he looked around him <sup>4</sup> his elder brother or his elder sister <sup>5</sup> he is peevish or is begging for something <sup>6</sup> suddenly <sup>7</sup> it will be east wind <sup>8</sup> let that be enough for the present! <sup>9</sup> are you (plur.) sleeping? <sup>10</sup> have you (sing.) fallen through the ice? <sup>11</sup> we are in a pitiable condition <sup>12</sup> because he went out <sup>13</sup> (he) stands on his feet <sup>14</sup> (place-name) <sup>15</sup> one who (he who) has fat cheeks <sup>16</sup> it is (he is) probably bad <sup>17</sup> it is too warm <sup>18</sup> eternal ice <sup>19</sup> a bee <sup>20</sup> they would like to buy something, they say <sup>21</sup> (place-name) <sup>22</sup> its beauty or how pretty it is! <sup>23</sup> (place-name) <sup>24</sup> aurora borealis <sup>25</sup> strong east wind <sup>26</sup> keeping your mouth shut <sup>27</sup> my little foster-son <sup>28</sup> feeding them (the dogs) <sup>29</sup> do you not want to go out? <sup>30</sup> I want to go to bed <sup>31</sup> a smoked bird or fish <sup>32</sup> they are tired of seeing me <sup>33</sup> capturing seals through holes in the ice <sup>34</sup> it will surely fall down <sup>35</sup> only taking it away <sup>36</sup> because they began to become older and older.

strong stress; on a long voiced sound (*a*, *m*, etc.) there is likewise necessarily strong stress.

If a series of similarly constructed syllables follow each other, each one of them receives some stress and in quiet speaking, they all receive the same stress. At all events the shades of difference between the stress in such syllables are much finer than those we are accustomed to in our language and they do not furnish any characteristic feature in the pronunciation of such words. That which is characteristic is the monotony, the even distribution of the stress (the even pressure of the outgoing breath).

In words of two or three syllables, such even stress is frequent. The more syllables a word consists of, the greater is the chance that one of the syllables will be differently constructed from the rest. An unstressed syllable occurs in the position of a short syllable before or between long (strong) syllables. If a short syllable comes before a long one (type: *ata* or *kata*), the first is unstressed in relation to the last (*at'a* *kat'a*). But two long syllables following after each other are evenly stressed (*'at'a* *a't'a* *'at'a* *'at'ak*). Now since short syllables are not much more frequent than long syllables, we may conclude, that the relatively unstressed syllables are not much more frequent than the strongly stressed ones. The unstressed syllables are, accordingly, not nearly as numerous in the Eskimo language as in our language. The language has no words which are unstressed; most of its polysyllabic words contain more than one stressed syllable. And the stress always occurs before or in conjunction with the long sounds (consonants or vowels).

Yet there is one syllable in the word which, no matter what its quantity, seems to have a tendency to attract the stress to itself; that is the last syllable. Even a short vowel in the end of a word is never unstressed. If the word ends in a consonant (*q*, *k*, *t*), its last syllable is always stressed, even if the vowel in it is short.

On account of the whole character of the language (all conceivable combinations of long and short sounds possible; the stress bound to the quantity and vice-versa\*); continual quantitative changes on account of the varying suffixes), it presents great rhythmical irregularity and a number of types of rhythmical combination. The long words are scarcely ever alike in structure. Therefore one of the chief features of the phonetical character of the language is its uneven heavy rhythm. This character of the rhythm is closely connected not only with the quantity of the sounds, but also with the mode of articulation (the intermittant coming and going of the voice in the succession of voiced and unvoiced sounds), and is thus in part mechanically determined.

In short words, as we have seen, the expiratory stress is most frequently laid on the last syllable and is strongest there, a circumstance which is most noticeable in words of two syllables ending in *q*; in the long words, where several suffixal endings are piled up, a central word-stress or a dynamic synthesis is entirely lacking. Some suffixes, when added to words, cause them to change their stress, some do not. The added suffixes themselves often become centres of stress or cause the expiratory stress to be evenly distributed to several parts of the word (just as in a sentence in our languages).

Change of stress and quantity does not take place in any word without an accompanying change of the meaning of the word, and this in turn occurs only through some change of suffix.

I shall give some selected examples of these frequent changes of stress in the Greenlandic Eskimo language.

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\*) I do not maintain that it is absolutely impossible for the stress of a syllable in a Greenlandic word to be strengthened without any lengthening in the quantity of the succeeding consonant; but such cases are rare.

In the plural of many words of two syllables. Ex.:

<i>am'eq</i> a skin	<i>'am'it</i> skins
<i>nan'oq</i> a bear	<i>n'an'ut</i> bears
<i>um'ik</i> beard	<i>'ũm'it</i> beards
<i>uul'oq</i> shell	<i>u'ul'ut</i> shells
<i>al'oq</i> sole of the foot	<i>'al'ut</i> soles of the feet
<i>oq'aq</i> tongue	<i>'oq'at</i> tongues

In the plural of many words of three syllables. Ex.:

<i>awat'aq</i> a bladder (of sealskin)	<i>aw'at'at</i> bladders
<i>t'a'lut'aq</i> a decoy sail	<i>t'a'lut'at</i> decoy sails
<i>uw'in'ik</i> meat (on a living being)	<i>uw'in'it</i> meat (on living beings, plur).
<i>qaŋat'aq</i> cavern (in a rock)	<i>qaŋ'at'at</i> caverns

Likewise in many nominal and verbal derivatives:

<i>mal'ik</i> a wave, billow	<i>m'al'erp'oq</i> it (the sea) is rolling
<i>sánaw,oq</i> he works	<i>s'an'at</i> implements, tools
<i>qinuw,oq</i> he asks (for something)	<i>q'in'ut</i> prayer
<i>pulaw,oq</i> slips in	<i>p'uul'at</i> a trap, especially a fox-trap
<i>ine</i> couch, lair	<i>'in'ip'oq</i> gets lodgings
<i>in'a</i> its or his couch or lair	<i>'in'arp'oq</i> lies down, goes to bed
<i>inuk</i> human being	<i>'in'up'oq</i> come to people, meet people
<i>nan'oq</i> bear	<i>n'an'up'oq</i> has captured a bear

Likewise in many modal-like verbal suffixes and nominal inflectional forms:

<i>aniw,oq</i> he comes out	}	<i>'an'ip'a</i> comes out and brings it with him out (his work or something which is to be carried away from the house).
<i>an'ip'a</i> he brings it out, throws it out		
<i>tuniw,a</i> he gives him (something)		<i>t'un'i,up'a</i> gives it (to some one)



<i>tiŋiw,og</i> it flies away	<i>t'ŋ'up'a</i> it flies away with it (a bird)
<i>tiŋuw,a</i> he takes it	<i>t'ix'up'a</i> he takes it and some- thing else with it
<i>'a<sup>w</sup>law'oq</i> moves, roams about	<i>'a<sup>w</sup>λ'arp'oq</i> takes his depart- ure, has started
<i>kut'āp'oq</i> cannot speak plainly	<i>k'ut'ā'p'oq</i> speaks plainly and distinctly
<i>i<sup>w</sup>λ'it</i> you	<i>il'in'ut</i> to you
<i>am'eq</i> skin	<i>'am'im'ik</i> Instrumental of <i>ameq</i> <i>'am'ik'ut</i> Vialis of <i>ameq</i>
<i>am'ia</i> its (ejus) skin	<i>'am'e</i> its (suus, reflexive pro- noun) skin

§ 22. The musical accent (pitch and intonation) of the Greenlandic language I have examined in various ways, both purely empirically and experimentally.

On my journey through North Greenland, I became interested in the marked differences of "accent" in the different districts. The Greenlanders themselves have a very good ear for these peculiarities of dialect.

The simplest way is merely to indicate the relative height or depth of pitch by different accent-marks, as for instance [*āp'á*], where ' means lower pitch, and ' means higher pitch. I have used this system of designation (I) throughout all my notes, yet not as obligatory, but only whenever the musical accent of a word arrested my attention. In the following remarks, I designate low pitch by ˘, medium pitch by ˆ, high pitch by ˙. — Secondly (II), in some cases, I tried to determine the pitch in terms of musical notes on the basis of the a-tone of my tuning-fork, hoping in this way to get at the typical tone-movements of the various dialects. Even if I did not succeed in this, yet I managed to reproduce some of the

sound-movements which are typical for the North Greenlandic language as a whole. I proceeded after this manner: as soon as my ear had caught a word in the Greenlanders' conversation with each other that I considered especially adapted for this kind of examination, I concentrated all my attention on the memory of what I had heard, half thinking and half humming it with the same intonation with which the Greenlanders had said it; then comparing it with the *a* of my tuning-fork, I could estimate its approximate tone-relations. If I have not always been able absolutely to determine the tones, yet the intervals between them are, I hope, correct. .

Besides what I have thus taken down from bits of everyday conversation which I happened to overhear, I have also obtained some specimens of the music of the words through direct experiment (III). For this purpose, I used the same Greenlanders as for the experiments in articulation. I asked them to say a certain word or sentence and repeat it again and again. The Eskimo proved quite willing to do this. I tried to separate out the tones of voice from the words, and to avoid thinking of the natural pitch of the single sounds; I imitated their voice without articulating the sounds of the mouth; then when I thought I was able to sing at least the essential tones which constituted the limits of the musical movements of the voice during the pronunciation of the words, I easily found them on a violin, which had been tuned after my tuning-fork, and could write them down directly after the experiment. Of course this group of specimens does not as a rule show as great transitions of tone as the former group, where the life of the language plays a greater part. The words here are pronounced in the quietest and most indifferent way, therefore with a minimum of musical swell. — Finally, I have lying before me some rough graphical illustrations (IV) of the rising and falling tone-movements in words and sentences which I have heard.

Although I have devoted all possible care to the examples given with exact musical notes, yet I dare not claim that they are anything but mere attempts, for whose inaccuracy I must entreat the indulgence of specialists in these matters. I have dared to undertake these experiments more in reliance upon my good musical ear than because I had any training in such research through earlier experiments.

# 1. The relative pitch, determined according to 3 grades.

(<sup>1</sup> low pitch <sup>2</sup> medium <sup>3</sup> high pitch).

## Monosyllables.

[<sup>1</sup><sub>ku</sub><sup>1</sup><sub>k</sub>]<sup>1</sup> VIII [<sup>1</sup><sub>e</sub><sup>1</sup><sub>q</sub>]<sup>2</sup> Rdb. [<sup>1</sup><sub>a</sub><sup>1</sup><sub>p</sub>, <sup>1</sup><sub>a</sub><sup>2</sup><sub>p</sub>]<sup>3</sup> Nqt. [<sup>1</sup><sub>m</sub>]<sup>3</sup> or [<sup>1</sup><sub>∞</sub>]<sup>3</sup> Up.

i. e. strong nasalization, voiced, without any oral articulation.

[<sup>1</sup><sub>a</sub><sup>1</sup><sub>t</sub>]<sup>4</sup> [<sup>1</sup><sub>a</sub><sup>1</sup><sub>t</sub>]<sup>5</sup> [<sup>1</sup><sub>a</sub><sup>1</sup><sub>t</sub>]<sup>6</sup> [<sup>1</sup><sub>s</sub><sup>1</sup><sub>t</sub>]<sup>7</sup>

## Dissyllables.

[<sup>1</sup><sub>qar</sub><sup>1</sup><sub>λ</sub><sup>1</sup><sub>t</sub>]<sup>8</sup> XIV [<sup>1</sup><sub>une</sub><sup>1</sup><sub>q</sub>]<sup>9</sup> II [<sup>1</sup><sub>ma</sub><sup>1</sup><sub>q</sub>]<sup>10</sup> II [<sup>1</sup><sub>ik</sub><sup>1</sup><sub>a</sub>]<sup>11</sup> [<sup>1</sup><sub>ma</sub><sup>1</sup><sub>ne</sub>]<sup>12</sup> XVIII  
 [<sup>1</sup><sub>ik</sub><sup>1</sup><sub>e</sub>]<sup>13</sup> Omnq. [<sup>1</sup><sub>pā</sub><sup>1</sup><sub>n</sub><sup>1</sup><sub>e</sub>]<sup>14</sup> Omnt. [<sup>1</sup><sub>as</sub><sup>1</sup><sub>a</sub>]<sup>15</sup> Rdb. [<sup>1</sup><sub>am</sub><sup>1</sup><sub>ut</sub>]<sup>16</sup>  
 [<sup>1</sup><sub>qum</sub><sup>1</sup><sub>ut</sub>]<sup>17</sup> III [<sup>1</sup><sub>nā</sub><sup>1</sup><sub>k</sub><sup>1</sup><sub>a</sub>]<sup>18</sup> Up.

[<sup>1</sup><sub>ata</sub><sup>1</sup><sub>..</sub>]<sup>19</sup> III [<sup>1</sup><sub>aha</sub><sup>1</sup><sub>..</sub>]<sup>20</sup> Up. [<sup>1</sup><sub>a</sub><sup>1</sup><sub>o</sub><sup>1</sup><sub>a</sub><sup>1</sup><sub>..</sub>]<sup>21</sup> Qrj. [<sup>1</sup><sub>p</sub><sup>1</sup><sub>η</sub><sup>1</sup><sub>a</sub><sup>1</sup><sub>..</sub>]<sup>22</sup> [<sup>1</sup><sub>ila</sub><sup>1</sup><sub>..</sub>]<sup>23</sup> cf.  
 [<sup>1</sup><sub>ila</sub>]<sup>24</sup> [<sup>1</sup><sub>aw</sub><sup>1</sup><sub>η</sub><sup>1</sup><sub>o</sub><sup>1</sup><sub>q</sub>]<sup>25</sup> II [<sup>1</sup><sub>mā</sub><sup>1</sup><sub>w</sub><sup>1</sup><sub>nā</sub>]<sup>26</sup> [<sup>1</sup><sub>nā</sub><sup>1</sup><sub>w</sub><sup>1</sup><sub>ja</sub>]<sup>27</sup> Up. [<sup>1</sup><sub>tō</sub><sup>1</sup><sub>luk</sub>]<sup>28</sup> Uk.  
 [<sup>1</sup><sub>qup</sub><sup>1</sup><sub>a</sub>]<sup>29</sup> [<sup>1</sup><sub>nr</sub><sup>1</sup><sub>sa</sub>]<sup>30</sup> Omnq.

<sup>1</sup> a river <sup>2</sup> (interjection) <sup>3</sup> yes <sup>4</sup> word used by children in play when they touch the one they are trying to catch, = Eng. "you're it!" <sup>5</sup> interrogative particle often added to a verb for the sake of politeness <sup>6</sup> (interjection) what did you say? <sup>7</sup> copse of willows <sup>8</sup> trousers <sup>9</sup> the armpit <sup>10</sup> sea <sup>11</sup> (he is) over yonder <sup>12</sup> here <sup>13</sup> interjection (on shivering) <sup>14</sup> his (sua) daughter <sup>15</sup> the palm of the hand <sup>16</sup> downward <sup>17</sup> upward <sup>18</sup> no <sup>19</sup> its lowest part <sup>20</sup> interjection = <sup>1</sup><sub>a</sub><sup>1</sup><sub>o</sub><sup>1</sup><sub>a</sub><sup>1</sup><sub>..</sub> (?) <sup>21</sup> (interjection) <sup>22</sup> he owns it <sup>23</sup> is it not so? am I not right? <sup>24</sup> certainly <sup>25</sup> yes is said <sup>26</sup> through here <sup>27</sup> a gull <sup>28</sup> an Englishman (or American) <sup>29</sup> a crack <sup>30</sup> a porpoise.

## Trisyllables

[täsune]<sup>31</sup> XVIII [täs·b·nä]<sup>32</sup> XVIII [täs·an·ä]<sup>33</sup> [täs·on·ä]<sup>34</sup> VIII  
 [nä·lan·ä]<sup>35</sup> [tikin·ä]<sup>36</sup> XVIII [ikap·ut]<sup>37</sup> [mak·ua]<sup>38</sup> Gdh.  
 [qemänöq]<sup>39</sup> Up. [nēsarnaq]<sup>40</sup> Omnq. [vērīt]<sup>41</sup> Uk. [qū·k·uk·āt]<sup>42</sup> Omnq.  
 [im·aq]<sup>43</sup> III [erqerqöq]<sup>44</sup> Prö. [atan·o]<sup>45</sup>  
 [patip·ä]<sup>46</sup> I, II [tuniv·ä]<sup>47</sup> [nē·t·ä·p·ä]<sup>48</sup> [pas·up·ä]<sup>49</sup> I, II  
 [a<sup>w</sup>p·up·ä]<sup>50</sup> III [ö·m·än·aq]<sup>51</sup> Uk.

## Words of four syllables.

[sinip·ise]<sup>52</sup> Il. [tät·ä·qa·ra]<sup>53</sup> Omnq. [täs·an·ä·n·aq]<sup>54</sup> Omnq.  
 [as·ile·wik]<sup>55</sup> Il. [asukiak]<sup>56</sup> Arq. [kaφ·esörpīt]<sup>57</sup> Uk.  
 [su·s·ä·w·il·aq]<sup>58</sup> Omnq.

## Words of five or more syllables.

[pūjōrs·imäsöq]<sup>59</sup> Omnq. [tä·mä·k·ä·l·ar·līt]<sup>60</sup> Omnq. [qanöq  
 nuānarit·qa·uk]<sup>61</sup> Omnq. [anis·an·il·atīt]<sup>62</sup> Rdb. [il·it  
 [n'öt·on·i·ar·t·t·t]<sup>63</sup> Il. [ana·ju·m·un·ä·ä]<sup>64</sup> Arq. [pē·rsu·ar·lō·qō]<sup>65</sup> Il.

<sup>31</sup> there <sup>32</sup> through there <sup>33</sup> thence <sup>34</sup> thither <sup>35</sup> his master <sup>36</sup> come to me <sup>37</sup> they are jumbled together (in play) (children, dogs, fish in the water) <sup>38</sup> these <sup>39</sup> is lively and gay <sup>40</sup> porpoise <sup>41</sup> (place name) <sup>42</sup> dried strips of a kind of little halibut (*Pleuronectes cynoglossus*) <sup>43</sup> perhaps <sup>44</sup> the little finger <sup>45</sup> take care <sup>46</sup> he lets his hand fall on something or rest on something <sup>47</sup> he hands him (something) <sup>48</sup> has it begun to snow? <sup>49</sup> he is working at it <sup>50</sup> ? < *aput*: *ap·up·ä*, the snow has covered it (something lying outside the house) together with the ground <sup>51</sup> (place-name) <sup>52</sup> are you sleeping? <sup>53</sup> I dare not look at it (for fear, since it looks so frightful) <sup>54</sup> suddenly <sup>55</sup> picture-place (about a camera) <sup>56</sup> I don't know <sup>57</sup> do you drink coffee? <sup>58</sup> it is not worth anything <sup>59</sup> smoked bird or fish <sup>60</sup> let that be enough for the present <sup>61</sup> how are you satisfied with it? <sup>62</sup> won't you go out? <sup>63</sup> was it you that played on the harmonica? <sup>64</sup> ? < *ana(q)*, excrement, *-ju-* can easily, *-quit-*, the little ones, *-una*, he (was said to a little child whose mother quickly carried it out of the house) <sup>65</sup> immediately taking it away.



[*ta<sup>1</sup>m<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>erq<sup>1</sup>ɔ<sup>1</sup>rqa<sup>1</sup>q*]<sup>66</sup> Omng.      [*a<sup>1</sup>w<sup>1</sup>kiartɔq<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>siko*]<sup>67</sup> Omng.

[<sup>1</sup>ajon.<sup>1</sup>ip.a<sup>1</sup>la.r<sup>4</sup>qa.q] <sup>68</sup> Ka. [<sup>1</sup>ajus.<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>ηε<sup>1</sup>ga.q] <sup>69</sup> Arq.

Although such small masses of sound as monosyllabic words are rare, yet the examples given above show four different varieties of intonation. There can be no doubt as to which of these varieties is most usual in North Greenlandic. The level tone is very rare, the tone of the voice generally being either rising or falling. The question is, which of the formations represents the fundamental element of the musical accent in Greenlandic? is it 11 or 11? I do not hesitate to say that it is the former formation, the rising tone. Such a formation as [*a'p*] with the falling tone is perhaps not unusual in this word, but it is not typical of the melody of the language. [*a'p*] with the rising tone is at least just as frequent as the other and it corresponds to the fundamental musical character of the language.

Furthermore there is the formation [ $\overset{111}{a'tt}$ ], which constitutes a transition to words of two or more syllables. Even if according to origin it should be secondary in relation to the former, simpler formation, yet it must now be considered as an independent intonation in the Greenlandic language, which has become connected with certain words and makes them more clearly understood. I shall speak of it as the compound tone\*).

Both of these, the rising and the compound tone, we now find again in dissyllabic words, most frequently, however, the

\*) I presume now that it is also with the help of this difference in musical accent that the Greenlanders distinguish between the two words: [is.e] an eye, and [is'e] cold, frost. I did not succeed in getting this point cleared up while I was in Greenland.

<sup>66</sup> it (he) is certainly here    <sup>67</sup> how the ice is thawing!    <sup>68</sup> it (he) is too good, exceedingly good    <sup>69</sup> it (e. g. the ice) will not become poor.

former. With respect to the latter, it must not be confused with the intonation in [*pin<sup>1</sup>a<sup>11</sup>..*], which cannot be considered as merely a modification of the compound tone, but must rather be taken as a third independent type (compound), which, however, is limited, I think, to interrogative or emphatic words ending in long *a*. Here there is first a sudden downward leap, and then a chromatic rise during the long *a*, but in [*a<sup>1</sup>t*], the beginning is a chromatically falling tone to be followed by a sudden upward leap.

Thus a change of tone often takes place during the pronunciation of a long sound, and this change is chromatic, not sudden. But changes of tone from syllable to syllable seem to take place in sudden leaps.

In words of three syllables, the first compound intonation is the normal one [*täsa<sup>1</sup>ne<sup>1</sup>*]; each syllable has its own pitch, the first high, the second low, the third high and generally higher than the first. There is no chromatic slur between these tone-movements. When it is seen how closely this intonation is associated with the formations of three syllables, it is tempting to consider its appearance in some few dissyllabic and monosyllabic words as evidence of their having originally consisted of three syllables. — The simple, rising tone belongs especially to dissyllabic words.

Among polysyllabic words, there are many where the syllables fall into pairs, each pair having the first intonation [*an<sup>1</sup>is<sup>1</sup>äq<sup>1</sup>ilät<sup>1</sup>it<sup>1</sup>*]; in others, this arrangement is broken by the appearance of the compound intonation; of course the tendency of the language to the formation of compounds causes a continual conflict between these two musical formations.

Psychological motives may also come into play in a high degree. Deviations from natural intonation are pet means of producing oratorical effects; by this means, questions, concessions, ironical insinuations etc. may be thrown into relief.

The following specimens of the language, where it is attempted to find more accurate and absolute indications of the movements of the voice, confirm and illustrate what has already been said about these matters.

## II. The musical movements of the voice in natural speech as accidentally overheard.

The tones are approximately determined in relation to the *a* of my tuning-fork.

(Up.) [*u η · a*]<sup>1</sup> (Omnq. woman) [*a ρ · a*]<sup>2</sup>

(Omnq. woman) [*aj'ū s · ū s'e · a*]<sup>3</sup> (Il.) [*s i n i p · i s e*]<sup>4</sup>

(Ka. woman) [*a j o η . i p a λ · a r q a · q*]<sup>5</sup>

(Arq. child) [*u w a η a a n · a*]<sup>6</sup> (Arq.) [*a j o r n a r q a · q*]<sup>7</sup>

III. The musical movements of the voice in natural speech determined by experiment with Greenlanders from different districts (indicated by Roman numerals, cf. Introduction p. 8). The tones were determined on a violin, which had been tuned after my tuning-fork, immediately after the pronunciation of the words. The single bar-line indicates a pause of arbitrary length between the words.

<sup>1</sup> are you there, you little one! (?) <sup>2</sup> interjection (wonder) <sup>3</sup> what a pity!

<sup>4</sup> are you sleeping? <sup>5</sup> it (for instance the weather) is exceedingly good!

<sup>6</sup> my (or I) grandmother! <sup>7</sup> it is impracticable, difficult.

XVIII [e n v · λ · u a r n a]<sup>1</sup> [e n v · λ · u a r i t e]<sup>2</sup>

XV [i n v · λ · u a ř n a]<sup>1</sup>      V [i n v · λ · ů a ř n a]<sup>1</sup>

[i n o · λ · ū a r i t e]²      XIII   [i n o · λ · u a ř n a]¹

XVIII [q u j a n a q i λ i λ o]³ XV [q u j a n a q i λ i λ o]³

XIII [q u j a n a q      i λ · i λ · o]<sup>3</sup>

[illegible]

VIII  $\overset{1}{|}a \overset{1}{n} \overset{1}{\varepsilon} \overset{1}{q} \overset{1}{a} \overset{1}{t} \overset{1}{t} \quad s \overset{1}{o} \overset{1}{r} \overset{1}{u} \overset{1}{n} \overset{1}{a}$  <sup>4</sup>

V [a ṇ ɛ q a ɪ t s o r u n a]<sup>4</sup> XIII [a ṇ ɛ q a ɪ t]<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> good-bye, farewell (2. pers. sing.)    <sup>2</sup> good-bye, farewell (2. pers. plur.)  
<sup>3</sup> thank you, the same to you    <sup>4</sup> does it hurt very much? yes certainly it does



XVIII [*q i s v s o r a l o η o   s u n̂ a · φ̂ a   q e r q û a q*]<sup>5</sup>

V. [q. i s ð̇. s o r a l o η o s u n a : φ a q e r q u a q] <sup>5</sup>

XV [*l' m' a η u a q*]<sup>6</sup> [*l m' a r a l a η u a q*]<sup>7</sup>

V [i m' a r a l' a η' u' a g]⁷ XIII [i m' a r a l' a η' u' a g]⁷

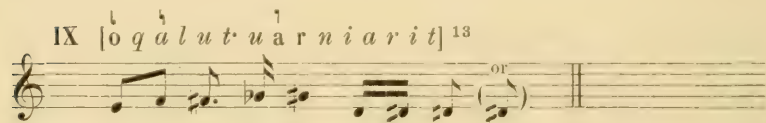
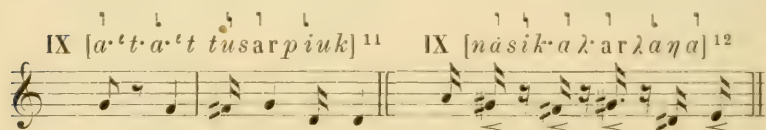
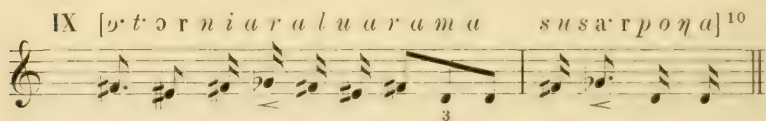
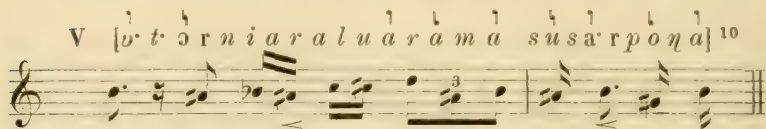
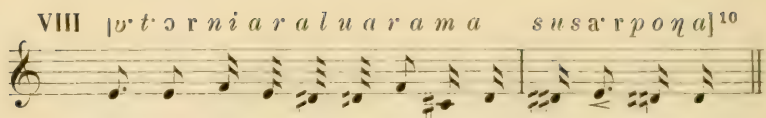
XVIII [a' t. a' t t a' m a' t u m i k t a k u w o η a]<sup>8</sup>

IX [a't. a't t a. m a't u m i k t a k u w o η a]<sup>8</sup>

XVIII [*sum'e k'umal'v'n'et*]<sup>9</sup>    XV [*sumi' k'umal'v'n'et*]<sup>9</sup>

IX [s u m' k' u m' a l v' n' i' t']<sup>9</sup>

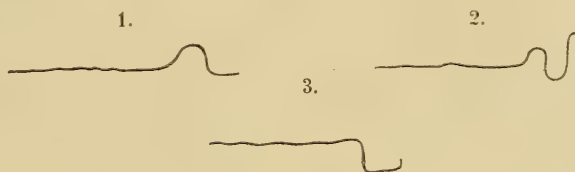
<sup>5</sup> in the belief that it was wood — just think of it, then it was only seaweed. <sup>6</sup> a little bit <sup>7</sup> a very little bit <sup>8</sup> I have never before seen the like! <sup>9</sup> no matter where I shall be, or come.



<sup>10</sup> I went out to catch outoks (seals which have crept up on land), but I did not get any <sup>11</sup> have you not heard it until now? <sup>12</sup> first let me go up and spy (from the mountain)! <sup>13</sup> tell a story!

IV. The graphical illustrations mentioned above consist of a little collection of broken or curved lines drawn with a lead pencil, which I let my hand trace at the same time as I attentively listened to a conversation that took place so far away from me that I could not distinguish the single words, but only follow the voice of the speaker. I thereby succeeded in getting an image of the movements of the voice during a rather long discourse, without having to stop to memorize what I heard. The result is in return the more abstract.

I shall not give all the drawings but only some of the most typical ones:



To take an example, to the first type would belong a period which, after having remained at about the same pitch, ended with a word of the formation: [*perq'o'rga'q*] (so far as I know, it is so) with a strong, oratorical emphasis of the difference of pitch in the last two syllables. As will be seen, the greatest differences of pitch occur as a rule in the end of a period (sentence, a short narrative); and I should judge that the last two types are the most usual ones (cf. the examples given with musical notes), that is to say, the end of a period as well as of a word most frequently contains an ascending interval. But even if it is not a rise that takes place, there is very often, especially toward the end, a strong point of musical emphasis in lively speaking. This emphasis is probably as a rule only an oratorical exaggeration of the natural musical word-accent in the last syllable of the period. In those parts of the period which precede the end, similar tone-movements take place, only in a less marked degree. In the drawings given, they must be

supposed to lie on both sides of the unbroken line. The line for such a word as [*ajus'an'ega'q*] would look like this:



which corresponds to the first type. I am not so sure, however, that a slight rise will not often take place at the end here (and in similar cases), already in the vowel *a*, and rapidly fading away in the unvoiced *q* without having attained to the height of pitch of the preceding syllable; if this is the case, we have here too one of the last two types. It is certain, at any rate, that it is not necessary for a period to be interrogative to have the rise of pitch at the end, just as, on the other hand, it is not absolutely necessary for a period to have such a rise at the end in order to be interrogative. Yet as a rule, questions have the rise in pitch. Typical examples of the tone-movements in Greenlandic are, in my estimation, such as those in [*sinip'ise*]<sup>1</sup> [*susa'rpoŋa*]<sup>2</sup>. There is a constant tendency to let the voice change in pitch from syllable to syllable with ascending intervals. The whole melody of the voice has, as it were, a regular type, which agrees with this fundamental rule. The compound intonation is not at variance with this tendency; if there should arise any disagreement between the two through the collocation of the parts of the word or the sentence, a kind of tone-assimilation takes place within the word or the sentence, whereby the pitch of the syllables is adapted to the type (as when <sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup> is changed to <sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>).

Such a formation as [*sum'k'umalv'n'et*]<sup>3</sup> 'makes an oratorical impression by the side of the natural [*sum'k'umalv'n'et*].

<sup>1</sup> are you sleeping?    <sup>2</sup> I did not catch anything.    <sup>3</sup> wherever I may happen to be (in the future).



§ 23. My immediate general impression of the musical accent in the North Greenlandic language, from notes in my diary.

The singing quality in the North Greenlandic language is not equally marked everywhere, but varies from fjord to fjord. It seemed to me to be most noticeable in Egedesminde District and farthest out on the *Narsuaq* Peninsula (especially at *Niaqornät* in *Oommannaq* Fjord). On the whole, the tone-intervals of the language are not greater than those which for instance may occur in Swedish, Italian and French\*). Women and children have the singing quality in the most marked degree. That which J. Storm has said in general about sentence-melody, that it at any given moment is like "the beginning of a musical melody"\*\*), can be verified by anyone who has had an opportunity to hear this expressive language spoken by a lively voice.

I shall proceed to give some direct impressions which the language made upon me in the different parts of North Greenland, where I took down notes about these matters in my diary.

*Arqittoq* (January 1901). The language in this district has the singing quality to a marked degree, and sounds especially Eskimo I think. A long account, especially in the mouth of a woman, can reach a very high pitch, perhaps *h* or *c*; shortly before the end, the pitch becomes very much lower. But even in quite short, indifferent expressions like: one can

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\*) Cf. for instance J. Storm. *Englische Philologie* I, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. (1892), pp. 218—219.

\*\*) J. Storm u. s. p. 207: "Der Gesang liegt in der Redestimme als Keim; durch eine kunstmässige Verwendung desselben Instrumentes wird Rede zum Gesang". Perhaps a comparison between the speech-melodies written down in the former paragraph and the Eskimo song-melodies given at the end of this work might give useful results with respect to the relation between the voice of speech and of song among these primitive people.

very well walk here! or: how delightfully down hill it is here! — may be heard the greatest transitions of tone of such a nature that one unconsciously gets the impression that the speakers are down-right whole-souled, good-hearted people with lively and emotional temperaments.

*Qeqertarsua'tsiaq* (February 10). It is a pleasure to stand and listen to a group of Greenlanders eagerly discussing the condition of the fjords. How is the ice? is it possible to drive around this or that point of land? is there open water in the sound by the Sea-dogs' point? is the ice cleft by the current? can it bear out there beyond Eagle Mountain, or must one follow the beach? who was there last? The voices become eager, high; questions and answers follow closer upon each other; the flow of talk runs rapidly, warmly, naturally, in long, period-like words, which are kept at the same high, shrill pitch until the voice, just before it is about to cease, makes a great plunge into the deep only to rise again immediately to an interrogative height — or vice-versa ends in the deep, thus establishing a fact. Scarcely is the sentence at an end before it is succeeded by a flow of talk which is pitched in another key.

Jakobshavn (November 1900). One evening in *Iḷumiut* I listened to a long tale which an old Eskimo woman was telling in a half whisper and in a strange manner as if with two interchanging voices.

*Oommannaq* (July 1901). In listening to the musical accent in a long, rapid account of some event, I am always struck by the continual interchange between two different keys; the speaker almost seems to talk with two different voices, now a high voice, which gradually comes into play during the flow of talk as the speaker becomes excited in reporting lively episodes or conversations or anything which rouses his enthusiasm; now a lower voice, which he uses when he has come

to the end of a conversation, or when he is giving some explanation or preparing a new turn in the course of events.

A woman stood outside of the house and said something to a visitor who was taking leave of her (a *tikeraar*toq); the flow of talk was pitched at about h or b (the tuning-fork used).

They call in a high — often in a very high tone, about corresponding to light-hearted laughter.

### III. The combination of the sounds.

§ 24. The transitions and glides between sounds take place in the Greenlandic language in accordance with the basis of articulation described above. As in the case of the tongue, each of the other organs of the mouth has its favorite position and its favorite movements, which are peculiar to this language and which explain many of the peculiarities of the life of the sounds, the tendency to uvularize or nasalize vowels, to velarize the neighboring vowels, to change *g* to *ŋ* and *r* to *ʁ*, to palatalize *k* before *i*, to let *t* open into an *s*-like groove before *i* etc. The sound-assimilations also take place on this basis.

Between two vowels occurring next to each other the half consonantal transition-sounds *j* and *w* are sometimes present and sometimes dropped. Ex.:

[*uiarpa*] or [*u<sup>w</sup>iarpa*, *uwiarpa*] <sup>1</sup>

[*tuawiarpaq*] or [*tu<sup>w</sup>a<sup>w</sup>i<sup>j</sup>arpaq*] <sup>2</sup>

[*iλ·oa*] or [*iλ·o<sup>w</sup>a*] <sup>3</sup>

[*uaŋa*] or [*uwaŋa*] <sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> he goes (rows etc.) outside of it    <sup>2</sup> he hurries    <sup>3</sup> his house    <sup>4</sup> I, mine.

After I had been in the country a couple of months, I formed another opinion of the nature of the aspirated *l* [*λ*] than the one expressed in the reproduction of this sound as *dl* (*gdl*, *vdl*) or *tl* which is given in Kleinschmidt's orthography. With respect to this matter I find the following remark in my diary (Sept. 2, 1900): "It seems to me now that it is not necessary to indicate any constant *t* or *d* before unvoiced *l*, but the sound is no doubt very often introduced by [*χ*], a sound which, however, I still find difficult to understand distinctly. A lip-articulation [*w*] may also introduce it." After that time I began to indicate it in my notes by <sup>h</sup>*l* or *χ<sup>h</sup>l*, whereas I now write [*λ*] or merely [*λ*].

My investigations of this *χ*-element gradually gave me a clearer insight into its nature, until I finally settled upon the following result: when *i* or *u* (high vowels) is followed by an aspirated fricative [*λ* *ς* *φ*] the whole surface of the tongue is raised tolerably high during the articulation of both the vowel and the consonant. On account of the strong aspiration which is necessary for the consonant, this raising of the tongue often sounds like a *g*- or *χ*-like glide or transition-sound between them both. It is in reality a kind of very loose prevelarization (*ɟ*<sup>1</sup>) or postpalatalization of the vowel (*ɣ*<sup>2</sup>) (cf. § 11, end of § 23), which may or may not occur in the same words, and which, in some cases, must undoubtedly have been original with the words, but is in other cases rather a secondary result of the nature of the adjacent sounds.

Ex.: [*iλ·o*] or [*iχλ·o*, *ïλ·o*]<sup>1</sup> [*iφ·it*] or [*iχφ·it*, *ïφ·it*]<sup>2</sup>  
 [*kiλ·ŋa*] or [*kiχλ·ŋa*]<sup>3</sup> [*nuφ·i-*] or [*nuχφ·i·umaneq*]<sup>4</sup> [*sis·aq*]  
 or [*siχs·aq*]<sup>5</sup>

In [*nu·χs·uaq*], where *-suaq* means „large“, the raising of

<sup>1</sup> house    <sup>2</sup> grass    <sup>3</sup> its boundary    <sup>4</sup> (place-name at Ege)    <sup>5</sup> the beach.



the back of the tongue ( $\chi$ ) is perhaps a rudiment of the final consonant of the root-word (*nu'k*, a promontory).

The word [*u $\varphi$ 'a*]<sup>1</sup>, which is used as a kind of interjection, has beside the form [*u $\chi$ 'a*], also a form [*u $\chi$ 'a*], where a sound-change has really taken place under the assimilating influence of the *u*.

This raising of the back of the tongue also occurs sometimes before long [*t*]; I have noted: [*i $\chi$ t'uarpa*] by the side of [*it'uarpa*]<sup>2</sup>.

At Pröven in the Upernavik District, I heard *a* before  $\lambda$ , *k*, *n* palatalized in a similar manner, as in [*a $\lambda$ o $\eta$ 'ipä $\chi$  $\lambda$ 'a'rpəq*]<sup>3</sup> [*nä'(g)k'a*]<sup>4</sup> [*ä(g)k'erqəq*]<sup>5</sup> [*qä(g)n'erpəq*]<sup>6</sup>. In these words, I paid special attention to the raising of the back of the tongue. Otherwise short *a* before a closed consonant (*k*  $\eta$  *t* *n*) is throughout the whole of North Greenland so palatalized as to get a somewhat *ä*-like character, i. e. it is shoved forward. It is symbolized by [*ä*].

The transition-sound *w* (as exponent *w*, *o* or *u*) occurs very often between [*i*] and [ $\lambda$ ] and also in certain words after *a* (especially after long *a*). It is in reality merely a labialization of the vowel and of the beginning of the following consonant (cf. § 11 and § 16), but in many cases it seems to be etymologically original in the words; in other cases, it is merely either an analogical formation or a reaction of the lip-muscles caused by the movements of the tongue and the jaws. It is found connected in a strange manner with the just mentioned velarization or postpalatalization between *i* and  $\lambda$  in the following examples chosen at random from the tales which I wrote down in Niarqornarssuk:

<sup>1</sup> there!   <sup>2</sup> peers after something through the window-pane   <sup>3</sup> it (he) is excellent   <sup>4</sup> no   <sup>5</sup> he is approaching   <sup>6</sup> it is snowing.

[*mi<sup>u</sup><sub>χ</sub>λia*]<sup>1</sup> [*a<sup>u</sup><sub>χ</sub>amik*]<sup>2</sup> [*ni<sup>u</sup><sub>χ</sub>λ·η·ilaq*]<sup>3</sup> [*ki<sup>u</sup><sub>χ</sub>λ·inεra·rsuk*]<sup>4</sup>

In other words, every time the tongue had to touch the roof of the mouth in order to produce the λ-closure, it not only approached it at a single point, but a larger part of it was always raised in a mechanical manner. At the same time the lips as if with a reflex movement assumed a position which could be taken for a very light labialization. But this mode of articulation, I think, is limited to certain districts or certain individuals.

When long *a* is diphthongized in the direction of *o* or *u* by a following consonant, there is sometimes an etymological foundation for it as in [*sona<sup>u</sup>φ·a*]<sup>5</sup> < *sona* + *uφ·a*, sometimes not, as in [*a<sup>o</sup>m·a*]<sup>6</sup> which I have occasionally heard instead of the usual [*a·m·a*].

This diphthongizing labialization of *a*, which would seem to be a very fleeting sound-element, may, however, in several cases, determine the meaning of a word.

[ <i>na·wəq</i> ] it is at an end, past	[ <i>na<sup>u</sup>·wəq</i> ] it (the flower) is sprouting
[ <i>awa·</i> ] the back part of his head	[ <i>a<sup>u</sup>wa·</i> ] his blood
[ <i>qawa·</i> ] its south (side)	[ <i>qa<sup>u</sup>·wa·</i> ] his forehead
[ <i>sawa</i> ] a sheep	[ <i>sa<sup>u</sup>·wa·</i> ] 1) the mould on the roof of a Greenlandic house 2) strews it with mould.

It is by means of such labialization that the 1<sup>st</sup> per. sing. and plur. in certain forms are indicated, as in: [*atɔra<sup>w</sup>k·o*] when I used it. [*atɔri<sup>w</sup>·ik*] I or we who use them. [*iλ<sup>w</sup>·n·e*] in my house.

This labialization is omitted, however, when there is no special reason for emphasizing the fact that it is the 1<sup>st</sup> person

<sup>1</sup> table-cover, cover of skin    <sup>2</sup> otherwise    <sup>3</sup> he doesn't talk    <sup>4</sup> (proper name)    <sup>5</sup> what there!    <sup>6</sup> also, again.

that is considered. It seems to be the rudiment of a lip-consonant (*p*), which is no longer necessary, but which may still occasionally be introduced in this manner as an indication of some special shade of meaning in the word.

In other forms of the verb, the presence or absence of this labialization is of no significance for the meaning. At Jakobshavn, I heard an old woman (born 1828) say: [*pe'rsi-mawλune*] while her son repeated it as [*pe'rsimāλune*]<sup>1</sup>, and in both cases the reference was to the 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sing. In the 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. plur., the same circumstance would surely be found.

Of the uncertainty in the choice of glide-sounds we have evidence in the four different forms which I have noted down for the 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. sing. of the word which most frequently occurs as [*iλ·it*]<sup>2</sup>, but also more or less occasionally as [*i'λit*]<sup>3</sup>, [*i<sup>w</sup>λ·it*], [*i'λ·it*]. — The transition-sounds are more important for the meaning and more invariable in the two negative verbs [*niλ'λ·η·ilag*], it is not cold (to the touch etc.) < *nilak*, fresh water ice, and [*ni<sup>w</sup>λ·η·ilag*], he does not speak, does not let his voice (*nipe*)<sup>4</sup> be heard, yet both of these words coincide in careless pronunciation in the form [*niλ·η·ilag*], which has both meanings.

Labialization of *i* before the aspirated [*φ*] is found, for instance, in the word [*ki<sup>w</sup>φ·aq*]<sup>5</sup>, before [*s*] in [*i<sup>w</sup>s·aq*]<sup>6</sup>. On the whole, labialization both of *a* [*ā<sup>w</sup> a<sup>w</sup> a<sup>w</sup>*] and short *i*, *u* seems to occur before the most heterogeneous consonants (*λ*, *φ*, *χ*, *ρ*, *t*, *n*, *η*), but it (i. e. the glide-sound *w*) may be more or less distinct, so it is often difficult to decide if it is an original element in the word or if it is merely an occasional muscular contraction. In not a few cases, it is probable that it is etymologically a reduced *p* or *m*:

<sup>1</sup> after it had become loosened (*Iλ*) <sup>2</sup> thou <sup>3</sup> thou (*Iλ*) <sup>4</sup> (*p* in this word occurs in the form of labialization in the corresponding verb) <sup>5</sup> a worker, servant <sup>6</sup> the other day.

[*qu<sup>w</sup>neq*]<sup>1</sup> < *qupiwa*<sup>2</sup>, [*su<sup>w</sup>λɔq*]<sup>3</sup> < *supiwa*<sup>4</sup>, [*u<sup>w</sup>λɔq*]<sup>5</sup>  
 [*u<sup>w</sup>χɔːna*]<sup>6</sup> < *uwa*<sup>7</sup>, [*to<sup>w</sup>qit*]<sup>8</sup> < *tupeq*<sup>8</sup>, [*ti<sup>w</sup>kːa*]<sup>9</sup> < *tipeq*<sup>9</sup>,  
 [*si<sup>w</sup>λːeq*]<sup>10</sup> < *sipiwa*<sup>11</sup>, [*si<sup>w</sup>neq*]<sup>12</sup> < ?\**simiwa*<sup>13</sup>, [*sa<sup>w</sup>niɾɔq*]<sup>14</sup>  
 < *sa<sup>w</sup>neq*<sup>15</sup>, [*sä<sup>w</sup>sːät*]<sup>16</sup> < *sapiwa*<sup>17</sup>, [*pi<sup>w</sup>λːe*]<sup>18</sup> [*pi<sup>w</sup>ɕːik*]<sup>19</sup> <  
*pe* + *-ɕik*, [*ni<sup>w</sup>χɔ*]<sup>20</sup> [*ni<sup>w</sup>ɕik*]<sup>21</sup> [*ni<sup>w</sup>nːɪa*]<sup>22</sup> < *nimeq*<sup>23</sup>,  
 [*ni<sup>w</sup>λːikarɔq*]<sup>24</sup> < ?*nileq*<sup>25</sup> (cf. [*niZːeq*]<sup>26</sup> < [*niλːk*]<sup>27</sup>) [*nä<sup>w</sup>sːaq*  
 or *nä<sup>w</sup>ɕːaq*]<sup>28</sup> < *napiwa*<sup>29</sup>, [*mə<sup>w</sup>qːua*]<sup>30</sup> [*mä<sup>w</sup>sarpa*]<sup>31</sup> <  
*mamipɔq*<sup>32</sup>, [*ku<sup>w</sup>λːɔq*]<sup>33</sup> [*ki<sup>w</sup>λːɔrpa*]<sup>34</sup> < *kipiwa*<sup>35</sup>, [*kä<sup>w</sup>λːua*]<sup>36</sup>  
 [*qu<sup>w</sup>λːe*]<sup>37</sup> [*qi<sup>w</sup>sːarɔq*]<sup>38</sup> < ?*qipɪwa*<sup>39</sup>, [*qi<sup>w</sup>neq*]<sup>40</sup> < *qipɪwa*<sup>39</sup>  
 [*qi<sup>w</sup>λːerɔq*]<sup>41</sup> [*qa<sup>w</sup>ηːniɾɔq*]<sup>42</sup> [*qä<sup>w</sup>sit*]<sup>43</sup> [*qä<sup>w</sup>λːɪnaɔq*]<sup>44</sup> [*qä<sup>w</sup>nːa*]<sup>45</sup>  
 < *qauwa*<sup>46</sup> or < *qama*<sup>47</sup>, [*qa<sup>w</sup>sːarɔa*]<sup>48</sup> < *qaperpa*<sup>49</sup>, [*qä<sup>w</sup>sːurɔa*]<sup>50</sup>  
 < *qamipɔq*<sup>51</sup>, [*i<sup>w</sup>nːaq*]<sup>52</sup> [*i<sup>w</sup>sːeq*]<sup>53</sup> [*i<sup>w</sup>sːɔq*]<sup>54</sup> [*i<sup>w</sup>kːik*]<sup>55</sup> [*i<sup>w</sup>λːer*  
*pɔq*]<sup>56</sup> [*i<sup>w</sup>ηːerɔq*]<sup>57</sup> (Kl. < ?*imːerɔq*<sup>58</sup>) [*a<sup>w</sup>λːɔrɔq*]<sup>59</sup> [*a<sup>w</sup>λːa*]<sup>60</sup>  
 [*a<sup>w</sup>qːut*]<sup>61</sup> [*a<sup>w</sup>qːarɔq*]<sup>62</sup> [*a<sup>w</sup>χːɔrpa*]<sup>63</sup> < [*auɾipɔq*]<sup>64</sup>, [*aːɕːit*]<sup>65</sup>  
 < [*aːuweq*]<sup>66</sup>, [*aːusaq*]<sup>67</sup> [*aːuɫawɔq*]<sup>68</sup> [*aːwːɔq*]<sup>69</sup> < *aːp*<sup>70</sup> + *-goːq*.

<sup>1</sup> cleft in a cliff <sup>2</sup> cleaves it <sup>3</sup> a tube-shaped depression <sup>4</sup> makes a draught for it through a narrow opening (draught of air or pressure of water)  
<sup>5</sup> day <sup>6</sup> through there <sup>7</sup> there! <sup>8</sup> also [*to<sup>w</sup>qit*], plur. of [*tupeq*], tent. <sup>9</sup> (its) smell <sup>10</sup> the middle line of the abdomen <sup>11</sup> rip something up, divide it <sup>12</sup> the surplus <sup>13</sup> cf. Kl. Ordb. p. 326 <sup>14</sup> gets a bone in the throat <sup>15</sup> bone <sup>16</sup> aquatic animals which come up in an opening in the ice where they are caught <sup>17</sup> to obstruct the passage in the water for them (fishes or birds) by surrounding them with kajaks <sup>18</sup> insane, mad <sup>19</sup> place where one does something <sup>20</sup> slime on fishes or sea-serpents <sup>21</sup> the peritoneum <sup>22</sup> is squeezed, is narrowed in by something <sup>23</sup> bond, string <sup>24</sup> rises to the surface, comes up in the water <sup>25</sup> air which streams out, fart <sup>26</sup> cold which is felt by touching <sup>27</sup> fresh-water-ice <sup>28</sup> half of an animal which is divided across the middle <sup>29</sup> breaks something in two <sup>30</sup> a bird's leg <sup>31</sup> effects the healing of a sore <sup>32</sup> has grown together, has closed (a sore, hole in the ice, foot-path etc.) <sup>33</sup> the thumb <sup>34</sup> shortens it several times <sup>35</sup> shortens it once <sup>36</sup> the bone mounting at the end of an oar <sup>37</sup> his tears <sup>38</sup> makes a sudden jerk in order to fling something away <sup>39</sup> twists something <sup>40</sup> twisting, thread of a screw <sup>41</sup> is bright, shines <sup>42</sup> snores <sup>43</sup> how many? <sup>44</sup> a European, foreigner <sup>45</sup> the one in the south; the one in there or out there <sup>46</sup> south <sup>47</sup> in there or out there (in relation to the house) <sup>48</sup> strip the skin off the blubber with a knife <sup>49</sup> scrapes something <sup>50</sup> extinguishes the light or the lamp for him <sup>51</sup> is extinguished, goes out (the fire) <sup>52</sup> a bluff <sup>53</sup> juice of meat, sap of plants <sup>54</sup> soil, mould, turf <sup>55</sup> gums. <sup>56</sup> keeps what is his in preservation <sup>57</sup> sings in the old heathen manner <sup>58</sup> (ditto) Kl. *ingmerpok* <sup>59</sup> strides, jumps over something <sup>60</sup> another <sup>61</sup> a way <sup>62</sup> is greedy <sup>63</sup> divides it into several parts, cuts it out <sup>64</sup> is separated in two parts <sup>65</sup> walrus <sup>66</sup> a walrus <sup>67</sup> summer <sup>68</sup> moves, totters, roves about <sup>69</sup> yes is said, say yes! <sup>70</sup> yes.

The right to speak about the labialization of the vowel and of the first part of the following consonant in all of these words, instead of considering the exponent *w* as an independent sound that separates them, I assume on the ground that in common everyday conversation no such separation really takes place, indeed the *w*-element is in numerous cases quite absent; when it is present, it appears as a movement of the lips coincident with the articulation of the sound-group, and the two sounds, especially the vowel, are slightly modified, but not separated by it; it is but seldom that even a loose *w*-position is reached; but on the background of the more open vowel, even the slightest contraction of the lips sounds like a *w*-like reduction of the sonority.

Labialization of consonants, — i. e. with rounded lips from the beginning to the end of the articulation — seems to occur now and then with some variations from fjord to fjord. I found [k] labialized in the Upernavik Distrikt in words like [k<sup>i<sup>w</sup></sup>k<sup>w</sup>aq]<sup>1</sup>, [k<sup>i<sup>w</sup></sup>k<sup>w</sup>arλoηo], usually [k<sup>i<sup>w</sup></sup>k<sup>w</sup>arλoηo]<sup>2</sup>.

[ρ] I found labialized in the southern part of the district of Egedesminde, as in [nɔ<sup>ρ</sup>ρ<sup>ρ</sup>aq]<sup>3</sup>, [ila<sup>ρ</sup>ρ<sup>ρ</sup>äl·ät·arρaq]<sup>4</sup>, otherwise [nɔρ·aq, ilarφ·äl·ät·arρaq].

[s] I found occasionally labialized at Jakobshavn in [s<sup>u</sup>ɔ·řm·ak·o]<sup>5</sup> [s<sup>u</sup>ɔ·řm·ata·<sup>u</sup>wa]<sup>6</sup>. In [ajüs·üse]<sup>7</sup>, the rounding of the lips during the articulation of the *s*-sound seems to have no acoustic effect upon it.

In § 10 it was remarked that the extremely protruding position of the tongue at the articulation of the point-conso-

<sup>1</sup> a worker, servant(?)    <sup>2</sup> gnaws the meat off (a bone)    <sup>3</sup> a reindeer calf (one year old)    <sup>4</sup> he exaggerates    <sup>5</sup> why these    <sup>6</sup> what is the meaning of that  
<sup>7</sup> how bad it is.



nants involved a kind of palatalization of the preceding vowel. This is of great significance for the vocalic colouring of the Eskimo language. The short sounds [a] and [u] become [ä] and [ö], the long sounds [a'] and [u'] are diphthongized, the former more strongly, the latter slightly; [a'·i] or [ä'·i] does not sound exactly like a diphthong because *a* retains its deep pitch until the last moment before the on-glide of the following consonant; the modification which *a* thereby undergoes lies on the way toward an *i*, but it often gets no farther than to *e* or *ä*, thus either [ä'·i] or [ä'e, ä'ä], seldom [ä'·j]. As a common symbol for all these glides I generally use [a'·], as in: [tama'·t]<sup>1</sup> [a'ta'·t]<sup>2</sup> [ila'·ne]<sup>3</sup> [tama'·sa]<sup>4</sup> [sa'·tut]<sup>5</sup>. The finer shades of this diphthongizing of *a* will be given in § 25. [u'] is lightly palatalized and diphthongized in [tuö's·öt]<sup>6</sup>.

Besides there may everywhere be found examples of *a* and *u* which are lightly palatalized [ä, ö] by a following *t*, *n*, *λ* or *s*, as far as *a* is concerned, also by *k*, *η* (and *m*, *p*?) ; even if I have written [a] or [u] in these cases and left the palatalization unindicated, still it must as a rule be understood.

Palatalized consonants (like those in Russian), I have not met with in Greenlandic.

I have yet to mention the uvular glide-sound which is caused by the uvularization of vowels, namely the one which after a short vowel introduces the stopped consonant *q*. I consider it to be identical with the voiced fricative *r*, as in: [e<sup>r</sup>q'e]<sup>7</sup> [e<sup>r</sup>q'e<sup>r</sup>q·q]<sup>8</sup>, which I generally designate in a different manner, thus: [eq'e] [erqerq·q]. This glide-sound gets an independent value in the consonant-group [rq], which is no doubt merely a reduced [q'] (cf. § 14).

<sup>1</sup> whole, entirely (3 pers. sing.) <sup>2</sup> not until now <sup>3</sup> once (formerly) <sup>4</sup> all (3 pers. plur.) <sup>5</sup> place-name <sup>6</sup> a large needle used in covering kajaks (with skin). <sup>7</sup> corner, corner of the mouth <sup>8</sup> the little finger

Uvularized lip-consonants I have noted down from the southern part of the district of Egedesminde for instance in:

[is'er $\varphi$ ' $\eta$ 'at] with uvularized  $\varphi$  instead of the usual [is'er $\varphi$ ' $\eta$ 'at]<sup>1</sup> (cf. page 151).

With respect to the diffusion of nasalization, I think I may formulate the rule that a short vowel before a long nasal sound becomes nasalized; and that likewise final *e* after an *m* or *n* very often becomes nasalized, as in:

[a'rim $\eta$ ]<sup>2</sup> [ata'n $\eta$ ]<sup>3</sup> [ã'mas'alik]<sup>4</sup>.

An *r* followed by a nasal sound is always nasalized, indeed the nasalization often extends to the vowel preceding *r*, as in: [a'rn'ät]<sup>5</sup> or [ã'rn'ät].

The nasalization, however, I have generally left unindicated on account of the big difference between the individual speakers in this respect. Many words are only occasionally subjected to this influence.

§ 25. The influence exerted on vowels by neighboring consonants has been incidentally touched upon in § 12 and § 24.

The influence of consonants upon preceding vowels is seen in the following examples:

[a — a — ä] [arnaq — arna' — arnät]<sup>6</sup>

[a — a — á] [atörparput — atörpa' — atörpät]<sup>7</sup>

[pegarpɔq — peqän'ilaq]<sup>8</sup>

[e — i — i] [sule — sulilo]<sup>9</sup> [puise — puisit]<sup>10</sup>

[ise — isip — is'ipɔq — is'eta]<sup>11</sup>

[e — e — i] [ameq — ame' — am'ip — am'it]<sup>12</sup>

[ɔ — o — u] [niagɔq — niaqua]<sup>13</sup>

[il'orsuaq — il'o — il'up — il'uk — il'öt]<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> they went in to him. <sup>2</sup> (interjection) <sup>3</sup> beneath, underneath <sup>4</sup> (place-name) <sup>5</sup> women <sup>6</sup> a woman — his woman (mother) — women <sup>7</sup> we use it — he uses it — are they used <sup>8</sup> there is — there is not <sup>9</sup> yet — and yet <sup>10</sup> a seal — seals <sup>11</sup> eye — eye's — he gets (got) something in his eye — he is looking at him <sup>12</sup> a skin — his skins — skin's — skin <sup>13</sup> a head — his head, <sup>14</sup> a big house — a house — house's — two houses — houses.

[ä] [ö] indicate such *a*- and *u*-sounds as are especially modified by closed consonants and point consonants. [ä̃] [ö̃] indicate sounds which are still more fronted. The shades of sound are not quite fixed, but vary somewhat according to districts and individuals. There are probably some etymological reasons to be found where there exists a difference of this kind between two words which are otherwise alike in form, as for instance between [mas'a]<sup>1</sup> and [tä's'a]<sup>2</sup>; in the latter the shade *ä̃* is very marked; in Upernavik, it sounded almost like [tä's'a, täis'a].

[ö] [ü] seem to be especially frequent in the neighborhood of *s*'s and *j*'s. Between *s-n* and *s-j*, these shades always occur more or less distinctly.

*i* and *u*, especially when followed by *m*, *n*, *ŋ*, are apt to be changed to *ɪ* and *ʊ* or even to *e* and *o*. The Greenlandic [ɪ] and [ʊ] when followed by these consonants are usually nearer the pure *i*- and *u*-sounds than is the case in the corresponding sound-groups in French, German and English.

*e* and *o* have a tendency to change as soon as they no longer stand as the last sound in a word (as in *il'o uk'o*), when the word, for instance, is lengthened with a suffix. When followed by *a* or by *k*, *t*, *p*, *s* etc. (any consonant except a nasalized or uvular consonant), they approach or pass into *i* and *u*. They occur unchanged in the middle of words before *r* in short unstressed syllables (*nerivōq*, *more'rsit*, *anore*); but between two *r*-sounds, they change in such syllables also (as in *-rēr-*, *-rer-*, *-rōr-*).

Before *q* (*ρ*, *ŋ*) and, in stressed syllables, before *r*, all the vowels suffer the oft mentioned metamorphosis i. e. uvularization. It can be measured by comparing Upernavik dialect forms

<sup>1</sup> here is —, this is —!    <sup>2</sup> there is, that is the one!

(*kutūt-ut*-forms, cf. § 30) like [unik]<sup>1</sup>, [ʊnik]<sup>2</sup> with the usual forms which have *q* instead of *k*: [uneq, ʊneq]. Likewise we find in normal West Greenlandic *neriwɔq*<sup>3</sup> < \**neriwo* + *q* (ɔ < o), *nerere-r-*<sup>4</sup> < \**nerire-r-* (e < i). The vowels which have thus been uvularized may be further influenced by a following *ŋ*, *n*, and also perhaps to a less degree by the other point consonants. Thereby [a] becomes [ä], [e] > [ē], [ɔ] > [ô]. Since a vowel followed by *rn*, *rm*, *rŋ*, *rŋ*, always is nasalized, this circumstance also gives it a peculiar shade\*).

**§ 26. Sound-groups.** Two different consonants may not occur next to each other in the Greenlandic Eskimo language. A consonant must always be succeeded by a vowel before the next consonant comes. The only exceptions are: *ts* and *r* + consonant.

This characteristic reveals itself in a striking manner in the foreign, mostly Danish, loan-words adopted in the language, where all consonant-groups are split by the insertion of vowels, whose nature is determined so as to harmonize with the other vowels in the word:

Danish	skrå	=	Greenlandic	[sukul <sup>1</sup> ɔ·q]
"	spænde	=	"	[sip <sup>1</sup> erneq]
"	silke	=	"	[sr <sup>1</sup> like]
"	præst	=	"	[palase]
"	trøje	=	"	[tɔrv·juk]
English	pork	=	"	[puluke]

There are a few exceptions, as for instance [*pruɕe·te*], a prophet, but they seem to be difficult for the Greenlanders to

\*) "All nasalized vowels have a deeper natural pitch than the corresponding mouth-vowels, so that for instance a nasalized *a* has a darker more *o*-like shade." O. Bremer: *Deutsche Phonetik*, p. 161.

<sup>1</sup> the armpit    <sup>2</sup> a burn    <sup>3</sup> he is eating    <sup>4</sup> has finished eating.

pronounce and they sound foreign to the language. When two different consonants happen to meet in Greenlandic in the formation of suffix-compounds etc., they are completely assimilated, as will be shown in the next paragraph by examples. If it were possible to examine this language historically, it would surely be found that many, perhaps most, of the long consonants are assimilations of two different consonants.

There is only one consonant, the uvular fricative *r*, which can occur before most of the other consonants, but this sound is akin to the vowels, and in such groups it is rather connected with the vowel preceding, than with the consonant following it. It never follows directly after another consonant, but, like other consonants, it is often found isolated between two vowels.

With respect to vowel combinations, all pseudodiphthongs are very common, as:

[*ia*] [*io*] [*iu*] [*ra*] [*oa*] [*va*] [*ua*] [*ur*] [*ui*].

Every page of an Eskimo text contains plenty of examples of these groups.

Proper diphthongs, as in German: *mein*, *haus*, *häuser*, in English: *high*, *how*, *boy*, in Danish: *fej*, *hav*, *høj*, do not occur in Greenlandic.

When *a* + another vowel occurs in Greenlandic in the formation of suffix-compounds or in declension, there occurs an assimilation whose first part consists of a long [*a*] or [*ä*] while the last part is a glide toward the other vowel (generally *i* or *u*), but the other vowel is not articulated. A mere suggestion of it appears at the close of the long open *a*-vowel. Beside the examples of such vowel assimilations which I have occasionally written down in my notes, I made direct experiments (with XI and XII), and I give here some of my phonetical transcriptions, although they but roughly reflect these fine shades of sound. They show clearly enough that all real



diphthong-formations are difficult for the Greenlander to pronounce, and therefore they generally approach complete vowel-assimilation.

	[qajaq] (< qaiag ?) > [qaja'] <sup>1a</sup> a' < a + a (his)
	[qaja'i] <sup>1b</sup> a'i < a + e, cf. <i>alog</i> , <i>alue</i> (sole, his soles)
Assimilations	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} [qä\ddot{a}n'e \text{ or } qä^en'e]^{1c} [qä'n'ak'a]^{1d} \\ [pinia'n'arpəq]^{2} < pinia(q) + -in'ar- \\ [ta'amä'tumik]^{3} < ta \text{ (Relative prefix)} + ima \text{ (thus)} \\ \text{of } a + i. \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} + it'o(q) \text{ (being)} + mik \text{ (Instrumentalis)} \\ [ta'amam'ät]^{4} < ta + ima(m) + -mät \text{ (verbal suffix)} \\ [sa'ät'əq \text{ or } sa'et'əq]^{5} < sa(k) \text{ (front)} + it'əq \text{ (being)} \end{array} \right. \end{array} \right.$
Assimilations	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} [ta'äna]^{6} < ta + una \text{ (he, it)} \\ a + u. \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [qaja'äsag]^{7} < qaja(q) + usaq \\ [niŋa'wa]^{8} < niŋa'ə(q) + a \text{ (his)} \\ [pala'wəq]^{9} < pala(k) + uwəq \text{ (is).} \end{array} \right. \end{array} \right.$

Triphthongs or compound diphthongs are not unusual on account of the constant tendency of the language to pile up suffixes in the words. Ex.:

*sikoiuit'əq*<sup>10</sup> *nalunaiaiwəq*<sup>11</sup> *qiviaiautit*<sup>12</sup> *u'wauarpəq*<sup>13</sup>  
*aviaugajut'ut*<sup>14</sup> *ikiiviumas'ain'armat*<sup>15</sup>.

But here too the difference between the single elements of these vowel-groups is in large part leveled just as in the case of the simpler diphthongs, the most sonorous elements becoming the most dominating ones in the group.

<sup>1a</sup> his kajak, <sup>1b</sup> his kajaks, <sup>1c</sup> his (suus) kajak, <sup>1d</sup> my kajaks <sup>2</sup> he captures game continually <sup>3</sup> thus <sup>4</sup> since the circumstances were such <sup>5</sup> (place-name) <sup>6</sup> *ta + una* (he), the one spoken of <sup>7</sup> resembling a kajak <sup>8</sup> his or her brother-in-law <sup>9</sup> that is splendid <sup>10</sup> eternal ice <sup>11</sup> he gives explanations, witnesses <sup>12</sup> a brush <sup>13</sup> it (the pot) contains too many pieces to be cooked <sup>14</sup> blood-robbers, i. e. murderers <sup>15</sup> because he always want to help (<sup>14</sup> and <sup>15</sup> from "Atuagagdliutit" 1900—1901, p. 7 and p. 168).

§ 27. Both vocalic and consonantal assimilations occur in great numbers, especially on account of the suffixal character of the language.

It is necessary to make a few remarks here about the structure of the language.

Eskimo words are to a far greater extent than in most other languages inflected by means of suffixes. The suffixes may be either single sounds, or sound-groups resembling words in all others respects except that they cannot stand isolated. An independent word may have several such suffixes linked to it at once. This incessant interlinking of the word-elements gives rise to the conditions for the large number of assimilations which are found in the language, since on the one hand the final sounds of the independent words, on the other hand both the initial and the final sounds of the suffixes influence each other on being brought together and are forced to adapt themselves to each other according to the phonetical elasticity, or lack of elasticity, of the language.

What we find are partly examples of geminated vowels and consonants occurring in suffixed words exactly where one would expect two different sounds; partly examples of two vowels or two consonants, likewise occurring in the suffixal joints, which qualitatively approach each other nearer than one would have expected.

With respect to the geminated consonants, where it must be assumed that a final consonant in the first word and an initial consonant in the second have completely melted together into one long sound, it is often difficult to determine the exact character of the two original elements. Before passing over to those examples of various assimilations which I think I am able to substantiate, I shall give an illustration of the difficulties that may be encountered in such investigation.

Such a word as [*inusiwag*] may with certainty be dissolved into three links: 1) the word which means "human being" and

which when isolated in the nom. sing. has the form *inuk* 2) the suffix *-si-* (NB. short *s*), which means: one gets or comes across something 3) the verbal suffix of the 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sing. ind. The whole means: one (or he) comes (or came) across people (one or several persons). How is the long *s*-sound in this word to be explained? We have an indication that the original first element of this sound was a consonant, most likely an unvoiced one just like the *s*-sound itself, but there is otherwise no indication as to the quality of this consonant. If the newly formed word only could mean: comes across a person (sing.), there would be some reason immediately to conclude that [*s*] comes of *ks* (*inuk* + *si*). But the word also, and generally, means: comes across people (plural). The plural of *inuk*, however, usually has the form *inuit*, which in combination with *-si-* would result in another form than the one given. So the probability remains that [*s*] really comes of *ks*, that it is the singular form to which the suffix has been added. Whether *k* has first passed through the intermediate form *g*, or has passed into *s* at one bound must, however, remain uncertain. — This same word-stem may occur in all the following forms according to the suffixes which are added to it: *\*inu*, *\*inw*, *\*inw*, *\*inom*, *\*inus*, *inuk* (the current base-form), also with inner change *\*inut*, *\*inuφ*. All these forms are connected not only by similarity of sound but also by similarity of signification (human being: kills a h. b., is a h. b., catches sight of a h. b., catches a h. b., his fellow h. b., persons whom one visits on the way, etc. Cf. Kl. Dict. pp. 100—103).

This example is typical of them all, similar changes taking place when vowels are brought together as in the case of consonants.

The varieties of form of the independent word itself one might be tempted to ascribe to various kinds of assimilations, but they may also be due to the fact that some suffixes are added to the full form of the word, while others are added to

its vocalic stem. Its inner changes (*inu-* for *inu-*) will no doubt always be most difficult to explain.

The following is a series of cases which I think are certain. They stand as types of many similar cases — it would be impossible to give an exhaustive list of them all. Many suffixal assimilations have become so stereotyped that they are no longer felt as living sound-changes. Indeed it must be taken into account that there are many words in the language which are in reality originally suffix-formations, but can no longer be recognized as such, either because the suffixes have otherwise been lost to the language or because they have become such integral parts of the words that they can no longer be analyzed. In contrast to these words, there are others which are formed on the spur of the moment, as it were, by the Eskimo as he speaks. Also this kind of assimilations, which may be called spontaneous, take place in accordance with the basis of articulation of the language. It is not strange, however, if some of these fall out of the general plan and must be considered as rare or unique.

Since all Greenlandic Eskimo word-stems or words end either in a vowel or in one of the consonants *q k t p*, the first element of the assimilated mass of sound must always be either one of these sounds or a sound derived from one of them.

The reconstructed primitive forms are marked by an asterisk \*; forms taken from the living language to show the completion of the assimilation are enclosed in brackets. Some few of the primitive forms are still used at random instead of the assimilated forms in certain parts of the country.

## Vocalic assimilations.

1. [aa > a'] \*qajaa > [qaja'] \*takuwaa > [takuwa']
2. [oa — ua] [il'oa — il'ua] } doublets used at random
3. [ea — ia] [amea — amia] }
4. [ee > e'] \*ikee > [ike']
5. [ae > a<sup>i</sup>] \*arnae > [arnaɿ]
6. [ai > a<sup>i</sup>] } samples, see § 26
7. [au > a<sup>u</sup>] }
8. [ii > i'] \*i<sup>w</sup>k'iip'ɔq > [i<sup>w</sup>k'ɿp'ɔq]
9. [ei > e'] \*peip'ɔq > [pɿp'ɔq]
10. [uu > u'] \*inuuwɔq > [inu'wɔq]
11. [ou > u'] \*ɔrsouwɔq > [ɔrsu'wɔq]
12. [uan > u'] \*-s'uauwɔq > [-s'u'wɔq] -s'uaup > [s'u'p]  
\*η'uauwɔq > [η'u'wɔq] -η'uaup > [η'u'p]
13. [awɔ > ɔ'] -s'awɔq > [-s'ɔ'q]
14. [awu > u'] -s'awuɣut > [s'u'ɣut]
15. [awi > u'] -s'awise > [s'u'se]
16. [awa > ua, u<sup>u</sup>a] -s'awat > [s'uat]
17. [uju > i'u] sujua > [sɿua] sūjul'eq > [siul'eq]
18. [uja > ia] sujaneq > [sianeq]
19. [ajo > io] najɔrqut > [niɔrqut] (Nqk.)  
najɔrqutis'ät > [niɔrqutis'ät] (Pröv.)  
kanajɔq > [kanɔq]
20. [t<sup>s</sup>ia > t'a'] \*o'm'an'ät<sup>s</sup>iame > [om'an'ät'a'me]

<sup>1</sup> a = his, its: kajak his; he sees it <sup>2</sup> house his <sup>3</sup> sealskin his <sup>4</sup> sore +  
e = his or their: sores his or their <sup>5</sup> mothers his <sup>6</sup> -ip'ɔq, is without,  
lacks: It lacks sharpness; is dull <sup>7</sup> he is without possessions, poor  
<sup>10</sup> uwɔq, is. he is a human being, lives, is born <sup>11</sup> it is blubber <sup>12</sup> is big,  
the big one's — is little. the little one's <sup>13-16</sup> future suffix in 3rd pers. sing.,  
1., 2., 3. pers. plur. <sup>17</sup> its foremost part, foremost <sup>18</sup> sound of metal, a bell  
<sup>19</sup> trading-articles; a sea-scorpion <sup>20</sup> place-name O'm'an'ätsiaq in the  
locative.



## Consonantal assimilations.

21. [ɾn > ɾŋ, ɾŋ, ɳ] [ernutaq > erŋutaq, erŋutaq, ẽɳutaq]  
[erɳnaq > erŋɳnaq, ẽɳɳnaq]
22. [ɾm > ɾŋ, ɳɳ] [ermuseq > ẽɳrŋuseq, ẽɳɳuseq]
23. [qn > rn, ɾn] \*miteqniarpɔq > [miterniarpɔq]
24. [qm > rm, ɾm] \*uʷλɔqme > uʷλɔɾme  
(\*) qanɔqmak'o > [qanɔɾmak'o]  
(\*) ukioqman'a > [ukiɔɾmana]
25. [ql > rλ, ɾλ] \*atisaqlupɔq > [atisarλupɔq]
26. [qs > rs, ɾs] \*qimeqsiwɔq > [qim'ersiwɔq]
27. [qt > rt, ɾt] \*qajaqta'q > [qajarta'q]
28. [rt > t] \*nukap'iaqtoq > [nukap'ia'toq] (Rdb.)
29. [qɸ > rɸ, ɾɸ] \*qɔ'qɸik > [qɔ'rɸik]
30. [qp > rp, ɾp] \*kaniɔqpɔq > [kaniɔɾpɔq]
31. [kq > rq, ɾq] nu'k qaqɔɾtoq > [no'ɾqɔqɔɾtoq] (lλ.)
32. [kŋ > ŋ] \*inukŋɔɾpɔq > [inɔŋɔɾpɔq]
33. [ks > s] \*inuksiwɔq > [inɔs'iwɔq]
34. [kt > t] \*kamikta'q > [kamit'a'q]
35. [kl > λ] \*kamikliɔɾpɔq > [kamiλ'ɔɾpɔq]
36. [kn > n] \*takina'ɾpa' > takna'ɾpa' > [tan'a'ɾpa']
37. [km > m] \*kɔ'kmɔt > [kɔ'm'ɔt]
38. [kp > p] \*inukpas'uit > [inɔp'as'uit] \*kiakpɔq > [kiap'ɔq]
39. [ŋk-] [ãŋ'kəla'rtut] (Nqs.), not assimilated
40. [ɳn > n] (\*) aŋina'ɾpa' > \*aŋna'ɾpa' > [an'a'ɾpa']  
\*māuŋnarɔq > [mã'w'arɔq]

<sup>21</sup> grandchild; immediately <sup>22</sup> a bottle <sup>23</sup> he hunts eider-ducks (*miteq*)  
<sup>24</sup> today (locat. of *uʷλɔq*); how these; this year <sup>25</sup> he has poor clothing  
<sup>26</sup> he has bought a dog (*qim'eq*) <sup>27</sup> kayak new <sup>28</sup> bachelor old <sup>29</sup> urine-  
place <sup>30</sup> he catches sea scorpions (*kaniq*) <sup>31</sup> point of land white, the white  
point of land <sup>32</sup> human being becomes, he is born <sup>33</sup> human being is met,  
one meets a human being or several <sup>34</sup> boot new <sup>35</sup> boot makes, he makes  
boot or boots <sup>36</sup> finds it long beyond expectation, or makes it too long  
<sup>37</sup> to the river (*ko'k*) <sup>38</sup> people-many, a crowd of people. It is warmth (*kiak*),  
is warm. <sup>39</sup> (a game) <sup>40</sup> he finds it big (*aŋe-*) beyond expectation; he comes  
hither (*mã'w'arɔ*).

41. [ɲl > λ] \*aɲiliwɔq > \*aɲliwɔq > [aλ·i·wɔq] cf. p. 171
42. [tn > n] \*sumutnarpiṭ > [sumun·arpiṭ]
43. [tm > m] \*atmut > [am·ut] \*kis·ars·uṭmik > [kis·ar·  
su·m·ik]
44. [tk > k]
45. [tp > p]
46. [ts > t, tʰ]  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *nujsup·a· \\ *nuksup·a· \end{array} \right\} ? > nutsup·a· > [nut·sup·a·] \text{ (cf.}$   
Kl. vocab. p. 258)
47. [tl > λ] \*iwlitlo > [iʷλ·i·l·o] \*sw·tle > [su·l·e]
48. [mn > n] \*samna > [saʷn·a]
49. [pɲ > n] \*kiɲit·upɲɔq sa·ne > [kiɲit·uɲ·ɔq sa·ne]  
\*a·pɲɔq > [a·ʷɲ·ɔq]
50. [pn > n]
51. [pq, pk > ʷq, ʷk]
52. [pl, pt > ʷl, ʷt]
53. [ps > s]
- } samples, see p. 150

ad. 17—19. These examples do not really belong here, since the assimilations which they show are not due to suffixing. They are doublets which are used at random, although the shorter assimilated forms are most frequent. -u before j becomes [ó] or [i]. Yet qújawɔq (he thanks) never becomes qiawɔq, which would give a totally different signification (he weeps). But Egede wrote qyavog [qüawɔq] (= he thanks).

ad 21—22. Double forms, used at random, though in North Greenland the assimilated forms are most frequent.

ad 23—30. The assimilation by which q becomes r before a consonant is one of the most fundamental sound-changes of the language. As formerly mentioned (§ 14), it also affects the

<sup>41</sup> becomes more and more big (\*aɲe), grows <sup>42</sup> whither are you going  
<sup>43</sup> downward (at in casus terminalis); stove (in the instrumental) <sup>46</sup> jerks it  
to himself in little forcible jerks. <sup>47</sup> and (-lo) you, but (le) which <sup>48</sup> [saʷna]  
he in the west. <sup>49</sup> Kiɲitɔq, it is related, on its front side i. e.: in front of K,  
it is related; yes, it is said.

preceding vowel, which becomes uvularized. *-aqt-* becomes properly *[-aʔtʰ]*.

The phenomenon quite corresponds to the assimilation of the labial + consonant, which occurs in a number of words: *wq*, *wη*, *wg*, *wk*, *wn*, *wλ*, *wt*, *ws*, *wφ*. Here too the labialization affects the preceding vowel at the same time as the following consonant is geminated. *-awt-* becomes *[-äʔtʰ]* etc.

In the case of *[wq]*, either *w* gets the upper hand as in *[aʷqʷut]*<sup>1</sup>, or *q* as in *[aʔqʷut]*<sup>1</sup>, the uvularization thus making its way through the *w*.

*[wg]* in *awgərloŋo* becomes *χ*: *[aʷχʷərloŋo]*<sup>2</sup> or *[aχʷərloŋo]*. In all cases, the labialization is easily lost in careless enunciation, so that the consonant-groups under consideration simply become *[q η χ k n λ t s φ]* instead of *[ʷq ʷη ʷχ]* etc.

As more uncertain examples of assimilation the following may be mentioned:

The long initial consonants in the suffixes *[ŋuaq]*<sup>3</sup> and *[-suaq]*<sup>4</sup> may be best explained as original assimilations with the final consonant of the independent word.

The suffix *ŋuaq* is not affixed to consonant stems in the present language, but penetrates into the word up to the last vowel: *qim·eq*<sup>5</sup> becomes *qim·iŋuaq*<sup>6</sup>. It is a question if we have to do with an assimilation here *[erŋ] > [eŋ]*.

More plausible is the assimilation *\*qisukŋuaq > [qisoŋuaq]*<sup>7</sup>. *-suaq* would together with *qisuk* give *[qisusuaq]*, with *qim·eq*, *[qim·ersuaq]*. So the combination *rs* can be better endured than *rŋ*.

*aput*<sup>8</sup>, *aŋut*<sup>9</sup> with the addition of the suffix *suaq* become *[apusuaq]* *[aŋusuaq]*. But perhaps *s* has come from *ks* rather than from *ts*, which at present either does not undergo any change or else (especially in North Greenland) passes into *t*.

<sup>1</sup> a way    <sup>2</sup> parting it in several pieces, cutting it out.    <sup>3</sup> little    <sup>4</sup> big

<sup>5</sup> a dog    <sup>6</sup> a little dog    <sup>7</sup> a little piece of wood.    <sup>8</sup> snow on the ground

<sup>9</sup> man.

In these last words, then, *s'* could be explained as an analogical formation which had supplanted the original *-ts*. But who knows if *ts* did not become *s'* in past times?

Now it seems as if, in certain cases, a svarabhakti *i* may develop between adjoining *t* and *t*, *s*, *η* etc. Thus *aηut* + *η'uaq* becomes *aηutiη'uaq*<sup>1</sup>; *aηut* + *siaq*, *aηutisiaq*<sup>2</sup>; *aḡiut* + *siaq*, *aḡiutisiaq*<sup>3</sup>; *aηut* in the plural, *aηutit*. Here there may be some doubt as to whether the suffix is joined to the *t*-stem, or to an older form of the word which ended in *-te* or *-teq* (*aηuteq* etc.).

Why do *qaq'aq*, *sanas'oq* etc. together with the suffix *-kut* give *qaq'ak'ut*<sup>5</sup>, *sanasuk'ut*<sup>6</sup>? It is possible that we here have the assimilation *qk* > *k'*, cf. the assimilation *qη* > *η'*, just mentioned. This parallel is not least interesting because in both cases the uvularization altogether disappears without leaving any trace in the preceding vowel — quite contrary to custom; otherwise *q* becomes *r* before another consonant. But so much is certain, that the sound-combination *rk* never occurs (whereas *rη* is frequent). If, however, *k'* and *η'*, which are invariable initial sounds in these suffixes, cannot be considered as assimilations of the sounds mentioned, they may have found their way into the words ending in *q* by the analogy of other words in the language which end in *k* and *t* (*kk* > *k*, *tk* > *k'*, *kη* > *η'*, *tη* > *η'*, regularly). These last words are, to be sure, far fewer now-a-days than those ending in *q*, apart from the fact that a number of words do not end in a consonant at all in the current base-form (*iλ'o*<sup>6</sup> etc.). But there may have been other conditions formerly. It is also possible that both causes may have been at work; the analogy of the assimilation in the words ending in *-k* and *-t* may have supported the assimilation in the words ending in *q*.

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<sup>1</sup> a little man    <sup>2</sup> a foster-father    <sup>3</sup> a purchased file    <sup>4</sup> through or over the mountain    <sup>5</sup> the carpenter's, the carpenter with his family    <sup>6</sup> a house.

There are several suffixes which invariably begin with a long consonant: [-s'aq]<sup>1</sup> [s'aq] or [ç'aq]<sup>2</sup> [-k'u'p'a']<sup>3</sup> [-m'ersərpəq]<sup>4</sup> [-ŋ'erpəq]<sup>5</sup> [-ŋ'iləq]<sup>6</sup> [-ŋ'ərpəq]<sup>7</sup> [χ'ərpəq]<sup>8</sup> [-tsiaq]<sup>9</sup> etc.

When these suffixes are joined to words ending in -q, this sound disappears without leaving any trace, as it seems. I am, however, inclined to think that here too the long consonant is originally geminated, the two elements being the final consonant of the word and the initial consonant of the suffix. The consonant of the suffix was originally short; no suffix is created with a long initial consonant. By destructive analogy or through far advanced assimilation, the uvular has been lost in those words where the suffix would give us reason to expect that it had once been present.

Exactly the contrary is the case with a series of suffixes which drag the uvularization with them even to vowel stems and to the words ending in *k* and *t*. The formation [userərqajəqar'a]<sup>10</sup> seems natural, where -qajəqar'a joined to *userəq* occasions the sound combination *rq*. But what is the origin of the same sound-combination in [takərqajəqar'a]<sup>11</sup> where the word-stem itself otherwise appears only in the form *tako*? Here the uvularization must have come from the *q*-stem by productive analogy. These suffixes are in Kleinschmidt's dictionary (pp. 442—445) given as invariably beginning with *r*: *rq* (< *qq*), *rλ*, *rn*, *rp*, *rr* etc.

Finally some general remarks. It must needs almost always remain problematical, what a word's stem-form — the explanatory intermediate form between two related words — has looked like, as long as there are no historical documents to be had, or at least evidence from other dialects. A long *t* may in general just as well go back to *pt* or *kt* as to *tt*, a

<sup>1</sup> verbal future suffix    <sup>2</sup> nominal future suffix    <sup>3</sup> consider him or it to be -    <sup>4</sup> long (verbal)    <sup>5</sup> is crazy after -    <sup>6</sup> not    <sup>7</sup> becomes -, becomes a -  
<sup>8</sup> verbal intensive suffix (with might and main etc.)    <sup>9</sup> tolerably (little, big, or much)    <sup>10</sup> I almost broke it to pieces    <sup>11</sup> I almost saw it or him.



long *n* just as well to *kn*, *tn* as to *nn*, etc.)\*) As a rule it must be decided in each case separately which is the most probable stem-form. The reconstructed intermediate forms are mainly scientific working formulas, in which the result of the analysis of the word is expressed, but they do not necessarily mean that the unassimilated forms ever were really pronounced. Perhaps the second *k*-sound in *\*kamiktaq* has never been pronounced as *k* directly before *t*, but has merely been thought, merely approximately aimed at. The result may have been a marked elevation of the back of the tongue before the *t*-sound, somewhat like a loosely articulated unvoiced *g*, in which the *t*-position has been anticipated.

It would be exaggeration to assert that all the geminated consonants in the language are equivalents for original groups of two different consonants, but such geminations are undoubtedly more numerous than those which can now be dissolved. The assimilating activity has no doubt been of no less importance in older stages of the language than is the case now. My notes and the tales etc. which I have written down contain enough of examples to show that assimilation is constantly taking place in the spoken language, in all essentials similarly for all who speak the language because they all have the same habits of pronunciation, and yet in many little details varying according to different individuals on account of individual arbitrariness. As contrasted with the assimilations handed down by tradition, which belong to the history of the language, these cases last referred to appear as vigorous demonstrations of the present life of the language.

\*) Just as we should not be able to know anything certain about the original elements of the long *λ* in words like *arnāl'o*, *inuk'o* (and the women, and the human being), if we could not take into consideration such suffixings as *unalo* (and he) etc. and conclude from the latter that in the former cases too the suffix is merely *-lo*, which in the first word is added to *arnāt* (woman), in the second, to *inuk* (a human being); *λ* has accordingly in the one case originated from *tl*, in the other, from *kl*.

The adaptability of the sounds is first and foremost due to the fact that the words and the suffixes are firm in body.

In the Eskimo language, when the sounds are added together, the sum of two short sounds is either a heterogeneous group or a homogeneous long sound. The quality may change, but the quantity is retained. The language guards these long sounds conservatively.

§ 28. A sound may have been present to the consciousness for just a moment without being articulated. Both the speaker and the hearer understood it. Some few of these occasional omissions are repeated so often that they become firmly established. *atsip pa'*, the hole for the sleeve, becomes *atsipa*, the hole-for-the-sleeve (Kl. dictionary p. 12<sup>2</sup>); *piŋiŋit* becomes *piŋi't*<sup>1</sup>. From my notes (the tales), I have collected the following more occasional examples:

	occasional forms	normal forms
[ <i>ea</i> < <i>ipa</i> ]	[ <i>arnale a'sit</i> ]	< <i>Arnaliŋip</i> (or <i>-ŋip</i> ) <i>a'sit</i> <sup>2</sup>
[ <i>a'</i> < <i>ai</i> ]	[ <i>qŋa'n'arminik</i> ]	< <i>qŋain'arminik</i> <sup>3</sup>
[ <i>us</i> < <i>ogs</i> ]	[ <i>aŋakusäluwəq</i> ]	< <i>aŋak'oq säluwəq</i> <sup>4</sup>
[ <i>ui</i> < <i>upi</i> ]	[ <i>iŋ'u ilua</i> ]	< <i>iŋ'up ilua</i> <sup>5</sup>
[ <i>am</i> < <i>atm</i> ]	[ <i>me'rga marluk</i> ]	< <i>me'rgat marluk</i> <sup>6</sup>
[ <i>ti</i> < <i>tai</i> ]	[ <i>as'a<sup>w</sup>t ina'</i> ]	< <i>as'a<sup>w</sup>ta ina'</i> <sup>7</sup>
[ <i>ksj</i> < <i>kisi</i> ]	[ <i>ksjān'e</i> ]	< <i>kisiān'e</i> <sup>8</sup>

Some of the most extreme cases I know of such slips of the tongue are the not unfrequent

[*pυ'likərsua*] < *pulukip ərsua*<sup>9</sup>

[*k'rs'əq*] < *kiwis.isəq*<sup>10</sup>

[*noŋ'ilāt*] < *noŋŋ'ilāt*<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 2. pers. sing. opt. of *piŋaoq*, is owned(?) cf. Rasm. Gr. § 34 (p. 56)

<sup>2</sup> Arnalik (name), as usual <sup>3</sup> only with his nostrils <sup>4</sup> the angakoq lies

<sup>5</sup> the interior of the house <sup>6</sup> two children <sup>7</sup> his finger's resting-place (i. e.

the place and the hollow thus caused, where he laid his finger) <sup>8</sup> but, on

the other hand <sup>9</sup> blubber of a swine, pork <sup>10</sup> one diving down (especially:

seal) <sup>11</sup> they are not consumed, eaten up.

A loss of sound which, in North Greenland at least, has become established is that which occurs in the inflection of the suffix *-t<sup>s</sup>iaq*, which in the plural becomes *t<sup>a</sup>it* instead of *t<sup>s</sup>ia<sup>t</sup>it*, in the locative *t<sup>a</sup>ame* instead of *t<sup>s</sup>iarme* (*Om'anät<sup>s</sup>iaq*, in *Om'anät<sup>s</sup>iaq*).

Also the reverse may take place, that is, new sounds may arise as strengthened glides between two sounds which are difficult to articulate rapidly in succession, and which themselves could neither be changed nor omitted without affecting the intelligibility of the word. Cf. § 24. Ex.:

[ua — uwe]	[uaŋa — uwaŋa] <sup>1</sup>	[qilaluaq — qilaluwaq] <sup>2</sup>
[ui — uwi]	[uiarpa — uwiarpa] <sup>3</sup>	[aŋuiaq — aŋuwigaq] <sup>4</sup>
[io — ijo]	[tuawioɾpɔq — tuawijɔɾpɔq] <sup>5</sup>	
[ia — iqa]	[aŋuiaq — aŋuwigaq] <sup>4</sup>	
[io — igo]	[niɔq — nigɔq] <sup>6</sup>	(Omŋq.)

All of these forms are to be heard, and it may be difficult to decide whether the fullest or the most contracted ones are the most original; the difference between them is at all events insignificant, for *w* and *g* are very loosely articulated.

On comparing the forms of the same word in various dialects, we often find differences which indicate sound-reductions similar to those here mentioned.

[awa — ua]	W. Greenl.	pawaŋa <sup>7</sup>	E. Greenl.	puaŋa <sup>7</sup>
[iwi — i]	"	niwiarsiaq <sup>8</sup>	"	ni <sup>r</sup> jarsiaq <sup>8</sup>
[ina — i'a]	"	kinaq <sup>9</sup>	"	kiaq <sup>9</sup>
[aku — au]	Greenl.	maujupɔq <sup>10</sup>	Labr.	makujuɾpɔq <sup>10</sup>
[uwu — u]	"	nu <sup>r</sup> k <sup>11</sup>	"	nuwuk <sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I <sup>2</sup> a kind of whale (delphinus leukas) <sup>3</sup> he goes around it <sup>4</sup> a spear to kill harpooned seals with <sup>5</sup> hasten, hurry <sup>6</sup> a leg <sup>7</sup> from the south-east or from up there <sup>8</sup> unmarried woman <sup>9</sup> face <sup>10</sup> is fastidious, is disgusted with something <sup>11</sup> a point of land.

When two syllables in succession are quite or almost alike, one of them is apt to be omitted in hasty articulation, so that the one that remains behind must stand for them both (haplology). I have noted down the following examples (which are in part very common):

*qiaqinak*<sup>1</sup> > *qian'ak* (Nqs.)

*ikitsisit*<sup>2</sup> > *ikit'sit* (Upern.)

*aniniarpit*<sup>3</sup> >  $\begin{cases} \textit{aniarpit} \\ \textit{an'iarpit} \end{cases}$

*usiserpa*<sup>4</sup> > *us'erpa* (Nqs.)

*kanernermik*<sup>5</sup> > *kaneṛm'ik* (Rdb.)

The examples which have been given of the phonetical changes which take place in the present, living language serve to throw light upon the original development of a number of word-formations in the language; they fall into groups according to the different ways they seem to have followed.

I. By pure haplology, [*u<sup>w</sup>λ'iwɔq*] (to spend or remain a day or several days at a place) seems to have originated from a form \**u<sup>w</sup>λ'uliwɔq*, which would be regularly derived from [*u<sup>w</sup>λ'ɔq*], a day.

II. A word of originally three or more syllables has — perhaps through a shifting of stress — lost the vowel in the second syllable, whereby two consonants have come to stand next to each other, and they have then become assimilated. These consonantal assimilations agree perfectly with those previously shown, which is a further support for the correctness of the hypothetical intermediate forms.

The relationship between the following words in Greenlandic, I base upon the hypothetical forms which I have given as intermediate between them: (to the left, the current word

<sup>1</sup> stop crying! (said to a little child)    <sup>2</sup> matches    <sup>3</sup> are you going out?

<sup>4</sup> he loads the ship    <sup>5</sup> (on account) of dew or hoar frost.

containing the stem or "root" — in the middle the stem lengthened by a suffix, the result being a form not in use — to the right, this last assimilated, being a word in ordinary use. The suffixes, which can be eliminated from the intermediate forms, are mostly current and well-known):

Present forms	Regularly constructed forms	Present forms
1. [aŋiwɔq] is big	> *aŋiliwɔq—[ŋl]	> [aλiwɔq] becomes big, grows
2. [aŋiwɔq] is big	> *aŋineq—[ŋn]	> [anʰəq] biggest
3. [aŋiwɔq] is big	> *aŋitigaɔq—[ŋt]	> [atʰŋaɔq] is as big as
4. [ikipɔq] is on fire	> *ikineq—[kn]	> [inʰeq] fire
5. [utiwɔq] the hair has loosened from it (the skin)	> *utineq—[tn]	> [unʰeq] an unhaired skin (from which the hair has been taken off)
6. [katipʰaɪ] joins them together	> *katineq—[tn]	> [kanʰeq] joint
7. [vʰmat] heart	> *vʰmatimik—[tm]	> [vʰmamʰik] Instrumentalis of vʰmat
8. [napʰaʷt] illness	> *napʰaʷtimit—[tm]	> [napʰaʷmʰit] Ablative of napʰaʷt
9. [nipe] voice	> *nipiliawɔq—[pl]	> [niʷλiawɔq] screams at the top of his voice
10. [tipiwaʰ] runs it ashore	> *tipisʰaq—[ps]	> [tiʷsʰaq] something which has drifted ashore
11. [kipiwaʰ] shortens it (once)	> kipisʰaq—[ps]	> [kiʷsʰaq] short hair
12. [kipiwaʰ] shortens it (once)	> *kipilorpaʰ—[pl]	> [kiʷλʰɔrpaʰ] shortens it several times
13. [qupiwaʰ] cleaves it lengthwise (once)	> *qupilorpaʰ—[pl]	> [quʷλʰɔrpaʰ] cleaves it several times
14. [qupiwaʰ] ditto	> qupisʰaq—[ps]	> [quʷsʰaq] half of a seal which is parted in two lengthwise
15. [qipiwaʰ] twists it	> *qipineq—[pn]	> [qiʷnʰeq] twist
16. [simiwaʰ] (Labr.) has him or it as superfluous	> *simineq—[mn]	> [siʷnʰeq] that which is superfluous, that which remains



Present forms	Regularly constructed forms	Present forms
17. [ <i>kiwiwa</i> ] sinks it down (under the water)	> * <i>kiwisaq</i> —[ <i>ws</i> ] > ? <i>ki<sup>w</sup>s'aq</i> > [ <i>kis'aq</i> ]	an anchor or what is used for an anchor (stone etc.)
18. [ <i>ka'wip'ɔq</i> ] turns round, spins round	> * <i>ka'wis'aq</i> —[ <i>ws</i> ] > [ <i>ka<sup>w</sup>s'aq</i> ]	whirlwind, whirlpool

The intermediate forms in no. 11 and no. 14 are still used as regular participial forms. The other intermediate forms are regularly constructed, but only the corresponding assimilated forms are used at present.

A number — perhaps the majority — of the labialized consonants (*<sup>w</sup>k*, *<sup>w</sup>t* etc.) occurring in the language have no doubt originated after the analogy of the cases given here. We catch a glimpse, as it were, of a general phonetical change, which is perhaps not yet completed.

The same may be said of the following series of phenomena.

III. A fricative (*r*, *g*, *s*, *w*) between two similar vowels is apt to disappear completely, so that the vowels are assimilated (cf. the previously cited *nuwuk*—*nv'k*):

Present forms	Constructed forms	Present forms
29. [ <i>nuniäp'ɔq</i> ] gathers berries	> * <i>nuniagak'a</i> —[ <i>aa</i> ] > [ <i>nunia'k'a</i> ]	my gathered berries
20. [ <i>piläp'a</i> ] cuts it apart	> * <i>pilagaq</i> —[ <i>aa</i> ] > [ <i>pila'q</i> ]	that which is cut asunder
21. [ <i>nis'a'p'ɔq</i> ] disgorges the food which has been swallowed, belches	> * <i>nis'a'gaq</i> —[ <i>aa</i> ] > [ <i>nis'a'q</i> ]	that which is disgorged
22. [ <i>minarp'ɔq</i> ] keep some of the food until one comes home; take some of the food with one home	> * <i>minagaq</i> —[ <i>aa</i> ] > [ <i>mina'q</i> ]	that which one has taken along home
23. [ <i>na'sarpa</i> ] works to end something	> * <i>na'sagaq</i> —[ <i>aa</i> ] > [ <i>na'sa'q</i> ]	an omen of disaster, especially an omen of death

Present forms	Constructed forms	Present forms
24. [ɲawoq] it is boiling	> *iɲasaq—[aa]	> [iɲaːq] that which is boiled
25. [sánawoq] works (with the hands)	> *sanasaq—[aa]	> [sánaːq] that which is worked, the finished work

There are perhaps half a hundred words in the language which, just like these last ones, end in a long vowel + *q* (especially in *aːq*). There is some probability that a number of them have originated in the same way as those here mentioned, namely by a reduction of sound and consequent assimilation. Those ending in *aːq*, for instance, may be assimilation-compounds containing the diminutive *-aq* or *araq*, cf. *qajaq* + *aq* > *qajaraq*<sup>1</sup>; *qajaq* + *araq* > \**qajararaq* > *qajarraq* (the usual form)<sup>2</sup>. In other cases, *aːq* may have originated from the participial suffix *-gaq*, *-saq* etc. In other cases, again, perhaps the form is merely due to the analogy of the forms already developed. Most words in the language have otherwise a short vowel before the final consonant. I shall cite most of the examples that have a long vowel before *q*:

*naːwjaːq*<sup>3</sup> (cf. *naːwja(q)*)<sup>4</sup>; *nataːq*<sup>5</sup> (cf. *natɕq*)<sup>6</sup> *nalikaːq*<sup>7</sup> *kujáːq*<sup>8</sup> (cf. *kujak*)<sup>9</sup> *kɛnaːq*<sup>10</sup> (cf. *kɛnaq*)<sup>11</sup> *kaːwsaːq*<sup>12</sup>, *kaːwsaːq*<sup>13</sup>; *kaɲaːq*<sup>14</sup> (cf. *kaɲeq*)<sup>15</sup>; *kanaːq*<sup>16</sup> *qumaːq* (also *qumaq*)<sup>17</sup> *qoqaːq* (also *qoqaq*)<sup>18</sup> *qɛnaːq*<sup>19</sup> (also *qɛnaq*); *iɲimaːq*<sup>20</sup> *iɲalaːq*<sup>21</sup> *ilaːq*<sup>22</sup>

<sup>1-2</sup> a little *kajak*    <sup>2</sup> a little (beginning) *kajak*-rower    <sup>3</sup> young gull    <sup>4</sup> gull  
<sup>5</sup> an inserted bottom (in a barrel etc.)    <sup>6</sup> floor    <sup>7</sup> place between the legs (in trousers etc.)    <sup>8</sup> the stretching-sinews on the back of a Greenlandic bow (which keep the bow stiff); the keel of a vessel.    <sup>9</sup> the lower part of the spine, the loins    <sup>10</sup> the black part of the snout on a harp-seal    <sup>11</sup> face  
<sup>12</sup> whirlwind    <sup>13</sup> a top (toy)    <sup>14</sup> place-name    <sup>15</sup> a promontary    <sup>16</sup> the shin-bone (from the knee to the ankle)    <sup>17</sup> a tape-worm, intestinal worm    <sup>18</sup> the shadow of the land cast upon the water (in calm weather)    <sup>19</sup> the sharp edge of the shin-bone, the bridge of the nose    <sup>20</sup> the point of an arrow  
<sup>21</sup> a window    <sup>22</sup> a patch (sewed on).

*awaq*<sup>1</sup> *artaq*<sup>2</sup> *arlaq*<sup>3</sup> *anoraq*<sup>4</sup> *ajaq*<sup>5</sup> *alunaq*<sup>6</sup> *kηuaq*<sup>7</sup>  
 (cf. *kηuarpəq*<sup>8</sup>) *qilaq*<sup>9</sup> (cf. *qilak*<sup>10</sup>) *qarsaq*<sup>11</sup> *saq*<sup>12</sup> *aq*<sup>13</sup>  
*niutaq*<sup>14</sup> (cf. *niutak*<sup>15</sup>) *qalipa*<sup>16</sup> (cf. *qalipak*<sup>17</sup>)  
*ateq*<sup>18</sup> (cf. *ateq*<sup>19</sup>) *aʒlaʒtaq*<sup>20</sup> *nintəq*<sup>21</sup> *nipitəq*<sup>22</sup> *niugərtəq*<sup>23</sup>  
*nepərsəq*<sup>24</sup> *maʊjəq*<sup>25</sup> *səq*<sup>26</sup>

-*təq* in <sup>19-24</sup> is connected with the verbal -*tuwoq* (is to superfluity, is big or has big -, many -). But it is not regularly formed as a participle (regularly *tusog*, > ?*təq*).

§ 29. Sound-changes within the West-Greenlandic language, proved by comparison of doublets, different inflectional forms of the same word, and different derivative forms of the same stem.

As contrasted with the dialect forms, the forms here given must be considered as general varieties within one and the same language-group (West-Greenlandic). They show sound-changes which may most appropriately be placed side by side with the assimilations. The vowel changes first given, which are enclosed in brackets, occur in the final vowel of the stem when a suffix is added.

Just as in the case of separation into dialects, it must be presumed that these established sound-changes have taken place at different times, and that their origin is due to individual

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<sup>1</sup> the back of the head <sup>2</sup> a harp-seal (*phoca groenl.*) <sup>4</sup> a woman's after-birth <sup>4</sup> a Greenlandic hooded cloak <sup>5</sup> the cross-beam in a kajak by which the side-laths are held from each other <sup>6</sup> a strap, cord <sup>7</sup> a descendant, offspring <sup>8</sup> remains behind, comes later <sup>9</sup> the palate; the ceiling of a room <sup>10</sup> the sky <sup>11</sup> a loon (bird) <sup>12</sup> the front piece (the breast) of a garment <sup>13</sup> a sleeve <sup>14</sup> the stem piece and stern piece (at the ends of the keel) of a kajak <sup>15</sup> ditto, of a boat, a ship <sup>16</sup> an overcoat of reindeer-skin <sup>17</sup> a covering skin (egg-shell, seed-shell etc.) <sup>18</sup> a namesake <sup>19</sup> a name <sup>20</sup> a seal of 2—3 years (blue-side) <sup>21</sup> a long-legged one (especially a kind of spider) <sup>22</sup> one with a strong voice <sup>23</sup> one with a big head (especially a golden-eye) <sup>24</sup> one who is accustomed to eat too much <sup>25</sup> an unknown fabulous animal <sup>26</sup> why.

differences. Some strike root, others are forgotten. The most vigorous ones affect the whole language.

[a—i]

- |  |                                      |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| 1. <i>a<sup>u</sup>saq</i> <sup>1</sup> — <i>a<sup>u</sup>siwik</i> <sup>2</sup>                           | with the } the suffix is <i>-wik</i> |
| 2. <i>upernaq</i> <sup>3</sup> — <i>uperniwik</i> <sup>4</sup><br>exception of the colony <i>Upernavik</i> |                                      |
| 3. <i>il<sup>u</sup>wta</i> <sup>5</sup> — <i>il<sup>u</sup>wt<sup>i</sup>nut</i> <sup>6</sup>             | } the suffix is <i>-nut</i>          |
| 4. <i>ern<sup>u</sup>rata</i> <sup>7</sup> — <i>ern<sup>u</sup>rat<sup>i</sup>nut</i> <sup>8</sup>         |                                      |

ad 3—4. Regularly formed Vialis. Thus in the case of all words with this form of inflection.

[u—i]

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 5. <i>aput</i> <sup>9</sup> — <i>apiw<sup>u</sup>q</i> <sup>10</sup>                                 | } the suffix is <i>-w<sup>u</sup>q</i> |
| 6. <i>neru k<sup>u</sup>aq</i> <sup>11</sup> — <i>neriw<sup>u</sup>q</i> <sup>12</sup>               |  |
| 7. <i>ernu taq</i> <sup>13</sup> — <i>erniw<sup>u</sup>q</i> <sup>14</sup>                           |  |
| 8. <i>igu naq</i> <sup>15</sup> — <i>igiw<sup>u</sup>q</i> <sup>16</sup> (Kl. diction-<br>ary p. 74) |  |
| 9. <i>iku maw<sup>u</sup>q</i> <sup>17</sup> — <i>ikip<sup>u</sup>a</i> <sup>18</sup>                |  |

The following double forms (with *u—i*) are, as it appears from Kl. dict., used at random (or the *i*-forms at Upernavik, the *u*-forms in Middle Greenland?):

10. *kaluwsarp<sup>u</sup>q*<sup>19</sup> — *kaliwsarp<sup>u</sup>q*<sup>19</sup>
11. *i<sup>u</sup>umip<sup>u</sup>a*<sup>20</sup> — *i<sup>u</sup>imip<sup>u</sup>a*<sup>20</sup>
12. *isun<sup>u</sup>aw<sup>u</sup>q*<sup>21</sup> — *isin<sup>u</sup>aw<sup>u</sup>q*<sup>21</sup>
13. *isuwterpa*<sup>22</sup> — *isiwterpa*<sup>22</sup>
14. *qap<sup>u</sup>uarp<sup>u</sup>q*<sup>23</sup> — *qap<sup>u</sup>i<sup>u</sup>rp<sup>u</sup>q*<sup>23</sup>

<sup>1</sup> summer    <sup>2</sup> "summer-place", a place for camping in tents in the summer    <sup>3</sup> spring or summer    <sup>4</sup> "spring-place" or "summer-place"    <sup>5</sup> our house's or our houses'    <sup>6</sup> through our house or our houses    <sup>7</sup> his or their son's    <sup>8</sup> through his or their son    <sup>9</sup> snow on the ground    <sup>10</sup> is covered with snow    <sup>11</sup> eats    <sup>12</sup> the ruminant's (the reindeer's) first stomach (paunch)    <sup>13</sup> gives or has given birth to a child    <sup>14</sup> grandchild    <sup>15</sup> secretes matter (as for instance a sore)    <sup>16</sup> sour train-oil    <sup>17</sup> is on fire, burns    <sup>18</sup> sets it on fire    <sup>19</sup> stretches himself, pulls something in order to advance    <sup>20</sup> separates it, takes it apart    <sup>21</sup> is stretched straight out    <sup>22</sup> unfolds or stretches it out    <sup>23</sup> foams, froths; chatters incessantly.

[*q* — *r*] between two vowels

15. *qanəq*<sup>1</sup> — *qanərip·a*<sup>2</sup>, *qanərun·a*<sup>3</sup>, *qanora·*<sup>4</sup>  
<sup>2)</sup> the suffix is *-ip·a*  
 16. *səq*<sup>5</sup> — *səruna*<sup>6</sup> the suffix is *-una*  
 17. *erneq*<sup>7</sup> — *ernəra*<sup>8</sup>, *ernərit*<sup>8</sup> the suffix is *-a*, *-it*  
 18. *nəqe*<sup>9</sup> — *nəriwəq*<sup>10</sup> the suffix is *-wəq*

[*q* — *k*]

19. *nuerləq*<sup>11</sup> — *nuerluk*<sup>11</sup> (Kl. vocab. p. 256)  
 20. *sərləq*<sup>12</sup> — *sərluk*<sup>12</sup>  
 21. *qəq*<sup>13</sup> — *?kə·k*<sup>14</sup>

[*χ* — *φ*]

22. *siχ·ərpə*<sup>15</sup> — *siφ·ərpə*<sup>15</sup>  
 23. *tiχ·uarpə*<sup>16</sup> — *tiφ·uarpə*<sup>16</sup> } used at random

[*k* — *η*]

24. *kil·ik*<sup>17</sup> — *kil·ηa*, *kil·ηit*<sup>18</sup>  
 25. *as·ik*<sup>19</sup> — *as·ηa*, *as·ηit*<sup>20</sup>  
 26. *up·ik*<sup>21</sup> — *up·ηit*<sup>22</sup> } the suffixes are *-a*, *-it*

[*t* — *n*]

27. *sə·t*<sup>23</sup> — *sə·nuk·o*<sup>24</sup>  
 28. *kət*<sup>25</sup> — *kənuk·o*<sup>26</sup> } the suffix is *-uk·o*

[*t* — *s*] especially between two *is* (cf. Rasmussen Gr. § 6<sup>4-5</sup>)

29. *il·uatəut*<sup>27</sup> — *il·uisəut*<sup>28</sup>  
 30. *kamitit*<sup>29</sup> — *kamisit*<sup>30</sup>  
 31. *a·wə·a·t*<sup>31</sup> — *a·wə·a·t·sit*<sup>32</sup>  
 32. *-tip·a*<sup>33</sup> — *-sip·a*<sup>33</sup> (cf. Kl. Gr. § 139, note 2)

<sup>1</sup> how <sup>2</sup> how is he or it? <sup>3</sup> how is it? <sup>4</sup> how (what) is said? (I beg your pardon!) <sup>5</sup> why? <sup>6</sup> certainly, yes <sup>7</sup> son <sup>8</sup> his son, sons <sup>9</sup> meat <sup>10</sup> eats <sup>11</sup> something which protrudes above or in front of something else (for instance a group of islands) <sup>12</sup> (a place-name) <sup>13</sup> urine <sup>14</sup> flowing water, river <sup>15</sup> wrings the water out of it (the clothes, the skin) <sup>16</sup> spits it out <sup>17</sup> limit <sup>18</sup> its limit, limits <sup>19</sup> image, portrait <sup>20</sup> his portrait, portraits <sup>21</sup> owl <sup>22</sup> owls <sup>23</sup> what (plur.) <sup>24</sup> what are they? <sup>25</sup> which? (about persons) <sup>26</sup> who (by name) are they? <sup>27</sup> through his or their house <sup>28</sup> through his or their houses <sup>29-34</sup> your boots (the two forms are used at random) <sup>35-36</sup> a gun, firearms (sing. and plur.) <sup>37</sup> verbal suffix (Causative).



[j — s]

33. *kanajɔq*<sup>1</sup> — *kanasut*<sup>2</sup>  
 34. *kanisɔq*<sup>1</sup> — *kanisut*<sup>2</sup> or *kanisut*<sup>2</sup>  
 35. *pɛŋajuat*<sup>3</sup> — *pɛŋasut*<sup>4</sup>  
 36. *nujuput*<sup>5</sup> — ?*nusupa*<sup>6</sup>  
 37. *-juipɔq*<sup>7</sup> — *-suipɔq*<sup>7</sup>  
 38. *-rujupɔq*<sup>8</sup> — ?*-rusupɔq*<sup>9</sup>  
 39. *qarajaq*<sup>10</sup> — *qarasame*<sup>11</sup>

40. cf. also *nujaq*<sup>12</sup> — *nut-sät*<sup>12</sup>, where, however, an extra-neous sound seems to have come in and prevented the change of *j* to *s*.

Most of the sound-changes here given are confined to the words and forms mentioned. The change of *t* to *s* between *i*'s is very common; the change of *q* to *r* between vowels is — in North Greenland at least — a rule without exceptions. In South Greenland, *qanoq-iprit*<sup>13</sup> may occur with the *q* kept.

Although these sound-changes are so complete that the different forms are now established in the language, yet in the living language there may still occur little deviations from the normal pronunciation, which may be considered as occasional sound-changes and which are no doubt designated as errors by "correct" speakers. Thus *k* may now and then be pronounced in the place of *t* (Kleinschmidt Gr. § 7: *pujortauk* instead of *pujortaut*<sup>14</sup>; *iʒkɔk* instead of *iʒkɔt*<sup>15</sup>); instead of the ending *-mit* (ablative) is sometimes heard *-mik* (instrumental). Almost normal are the changes *q* > *ŋ*, *k* > *ŋ*, *t* > *n* when they occur as finals before a word beginning with a vowel:

<sup>1-2</sup> sea scorpion (sing. and plur.) <sup>3</sup> the third <sup>4</sup> three <sup>5</sup> they have moved (themselves) <sup>6</sup> moves it toward himself with a jerk, jerks it to himself <sup>7</sup> never <sup>8</sup> terribly <sup>9</sup> passionately, with lust <sup>10-11</sup> place-name in *Ormanaq* Fjord, in its base-form and in the locative <sup>12</sup> hair (sing. and plur.) <sup>13</sup> how are you? <sup>14</sup> a tobacco-pipe <sup>15</sup> a sling.

*qanoq-ip'a* > *qanoŋ-ip'a*<sup>1</sup>). In my notes, there are many examples of these nasal changes.

§ 30. Like all other children, the little Eskimo children have difficulty in learning to talk plainly. I have unfortunately not taken many notes about the child-language, but yet I have a few, which are worth considering.

Thomas had just arrived at *Sermiarsuit* with his sledge on a visit to his brothers-in-law. While he was standing outside of the house waiting for some one to ask him in, he was practising hitting the dogs with his whip. When he hit one of them so that it howled loudly, he said: *kr'same niaqua an'era*, finally his head began to pain him! A little boy who had been looking on repeated his words, but he pronounced the last word: *an'eta*. On another occasion, I heard a little fellow say: *putoqa'ŋa* instead of *putoqa'ra* (I got a hole made in it).

There are some Greenlanders who never learn to talk plainly. They are found here and there among the others, who call them *kutātut*, an expression which contemptuously classes them with little children who have not yet learned to talk plainly. There are certain sounds in the language which they cannot pronounce, or at least only with great difficulty. I think it is most frequently the women who, aside from the children, have these defects in pronunciation; they are more rarely found among men.

In a certain part of Greenland, this phenomenon is especially prominent, namely in the *Upernavik* District. I was told that there were Eskimo settlements north of the colony of

\*) "wenn ein mit einem vocal anfangendes wort ohne pause drauf folgt, doch ist dies nicht durchgehende regel, sondern nur gewohnheit einzelner, besonders der weiber." Kl. Gr. § 5, cf. Paul Egede's Gr. Ch. I, 3-4.

<sup>1</sup> how is he?

this name where there were only *kutätut*. The men at the colony and those farther south at Pröven whom I spoke with did not belong to this class, but there was an old woman at Upernavik whose language I tested according to my phonetical lists and whom I found to be in high degree *kutät·oq*; most of the examples of this kind of pronunciation given in the following survey are taken from her language.

The most characteristic feature is the difficulty in articulating with the innermost organs, which results in the substitution of *k* for *q* and the loss of the uvularization before a consonant. On the whole, all the back sounds are articulated farther front than is customary among those who speak correctly; the vowel *a* often sounds like [äj].

The *Upernavik* dialect exists alongside of these peculiarities, perhaps independent of them, perhaps partly influenced by them. At all events, the peculiarities which are characteristic of the *kutät·oq* language seem to belong to the Greenlandic child-language in general rather than to this special district\*).

Normal North Greenlandic	<i>kutät·oq</i> Greenlandic at <i>Upernavik</i>
[ <i>q</i> > <i>k</i> ] [ <i>qajaq</i> ] <sup>1</sup>	[ <i>kajäk</i> ] <sup>1</sup>
[ <i>qum·eq</i> ] <sup>2</sup>	[ <i>kim·ik</i> ] <sup>2</sup>
[ <i>qaq·arsuaq</i> ] <sup>3</sup>	[ <i>kak·a'suaq</i> ] <sup>3</sup>
[ <i>qa<sup>w</sup>λ·unarsuit</i> ] <sup>4</sup>	[ <i>kä'tuna'suit</i> ] <sup>4</sup>

\*) The native Eskimo "pastor" in *Upernavik*, Tobias Mörch, has very kindly taken the trouble to answer an inquiry which I made concerning *kutätut*, and I take the liberty of quoting his answer here: "All Greenlanders", he writes, "are not *kutätut*, but only a few. *kutätut* have been thus from childhood. Most of those who have been so while they were little are no longer thus when they are 9—10 years old, but some people are *kutätut* both when they are small and when they are grown-up. It is not only up here that there are *kutätut*; there are also such persons in *Oommannaq's* District and at *Egedesminde*, as I have myself seen and heard".

<sup>1</sup> boat <sup>2</sup> dog <sup>3</sup> large mountain <sup>4</sup> the big Europeans.

	Normal	<i>kutätöq</i> Greenlandic
	North Greenlandic	at <i>Upernavik</i>
	[ <i>qujanarsuaq</i> ] <sup>5</sup>	[ <i>kuja·näit·uaq</i> ] <sup>5</sup>
	[ <i>qiterqu<sup>w</sup>·l·oηo</i> ] <sup>6</sup>	[ <i>kitik·u<sup>w</sup>·l·oηo</i> ] <sup>6</sup>
	[ <i>arqi·l·oηo</i> ] <sup>7</sup>	[ <i>a<sup>i</sup>·ki·l·oηo</i> ] <sup>7</sup>
[ <i>r &gt; η</i> ]	[ <i>qanorip·it</i> ] <sup>8</sup>	[ <i>kanorip·it</i> ] <sup>8</sup>
	[ <i>kat·orane</i> ] <sup>9</sup>	[ <i>ka<sup>i</sup>·s·oηane</i> ] <sup>9</sup>
[ <i>ors &gt; v·s</i> ]	[ <i>isumatorsuit</i> ] <sup>10</sup>	[ <i>isumat·v·suit</i> ] <sup>10</sup>
[ <i>ern &gt; än</i> ]	[ <i>erniw·oq</i> ] <sup>11</sup>	[ <i>än·iw·oq</i> ] <sup>11</sup>
	[ <i>qern·ert·oq</i> ] <sup>12</sup>	[ <i>qän·ert·oq</i> ] <sup>12</sup>
[ <i>ers &gt; äs</i> ]	[ <i>ersiw·oq</i> ] <sup>13</sup>	[ <i>äs·iw·oq</i> ] <sup>13</sup>
	[ <i>erserp·oq</i> ] <sup>14</sup>	{ [ <i>äs·erp·oq</i> ] <sup>14</sup> or
		{ [ <i>is·i·p·oq, is·ip·oq</i> ]? <sup>14</sup>
	[ <i>perserp·oq</i> ] <sup>15</sup>	[ <i>pä·s·erp·oq</i> ] <sup>15</sup>
[ <i>art &gt; a<sup>t</sup></i> ]	} [ <i>oqartarput</i> ] <sup>16</sup>	}
[ <i>arp &gt; a<sup>p</sup></i> ]		
[ <i>arλ &gt; a<sup>i</sup>·λ</i> ]	[ <i>marλuk</i> ] <sup>17</sup>	[ <i>ma<sup>i</sup>·λ·uk</i> ] <sup>17</sup>
[ <i>erp &gt; ä·p</i> ]	[ <i>pe·rp·oq</i> ] <sup>18</sup>	[ <i>pä·p·oq</i> ] <sup>18</sup>
[ <i>erm &gt; ä·<sup>r</sup>m</i> ]	[ <i>sermeq</i> ] <sup>19</sup>	[ <i>sä·meq</i> ] <sup>19</sup>

<sup>5</sup> many thanks    <sup>6</sup> parting it in the middle    <sup>7</sup> arranging it, repairing it  
<sup>8</sup> how are you    <sup>9</sup> soon    <sup>10</sup> those who are very inventive    <sup>11</sup> gives birth to;  
has given birth to    <sup>12</sup> black    <sup>13</sup> is afraid    <sup>14</sup> appears, becomes visible  
<sup>15</sup> it is drifting    <sup>16</sup> they are accustomed to say, speak    <sup>17</sup> two    <sup>18</sup> is away,  
has departed    <sup>19</sup> inland ice.

PHONETICAL DIFFERENTIATIONS  
IN  
THE ESKIMO DIALECTS,  
A COMPARATIVE STUDY



## Abbreviations.

- WGr. == West Greenland between 74°—60° N. lat.  
 EGr. == East Greenland between 66°—60° N. lat.  
 NGr. == Northern part of Danish West Greenland.  
 MGr. == Middle part of Danish West Greenland.  
 SGr. == Southern part of Danish West Greenland.  
 UpGr. == *Upernavik*, the northernmost colony on the west coast.  
 Amm. == *Ammassalik* (Angmagssalik), the Danish colony on the east coast.  
 C. York == the northeastern coast of Greenland north of Cape York along Smith Sound.  
 Bf. == Baffin Land<sup>1)</sup>.  
 L. == Labrador<sup>2)</sup>.  
 C. == Central Eskimo west of Hudson Bay<sup>3)</sup>.  
 M. == the mouth of the Mackenzie River<sup>4)</sup>.  
 NAl. == North Alaska, Point Barrow<sup>5)</sup>.  
 NWAl. == Northwest Alaska<sup>6)</sup>.  
 SWAl. == Southwest Alaska<sup>7)</sup>.  
 Sib. == the northeastern coast of Siberia along Bering Strait<sup>8)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> F. Boas: *Der Eskimo-Dialekt des Cumberland-Sundes* (Mitteil. der Anthropol. Gesellschaft XXIV, Wien 1894). — *Eskimo Tales and Songs* (in *Journal of American Folk-Lore* vol. II (1889), vol. VII (1894), vol. X (1897)). — *The central Eskimo* (Sixth annual report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the secretary of the Smithsonian institution 1884—85, Washington 1889).

<sup>2)</sup> Erdmann: *Wörterbuch* (1864). — Bourquin: *Grammatik der Eskimo Sprache* (1891).

<sup>3-4)</sup> E. Petitot: *Vocabulaire Français-Esquimau* (1876).

<sup>5)</sup> P. H. Ray: *Report of the Internat. Polar Expedition to Point Barrow* (1885).

<sup>6)</sup> Wells and Kelly: *Vocabularies* (1890).

<sup>7)</sup> A. Schultze: *Grammar and Vocabulary of the Eskimo Language of North-Western Alaska, Kuskoquim District* (1894). — Francis Barnum: *Grammatical Fundamentals of the Innuít Language* (1901). — E. W. Nelson: *The Eskimo about Bering Strait* (1899).

<sup>8)</sup> Wells and Kelly: *Vocabularies* (1890).

§ 31. *Dialects in Greenland.* The language which is spoken along the inhabited coasts of Greenland does not sound alike everywhere. The stock of words and the forms aimed at are chiefly the same, but phonetic differentiations have taken place from settlement to settlement, and have struck root sometimes over smaller, sometimes over larger areas. Even within the limited part of the west coast which I succeeded in traversing there were some very essential differences to be detected. For the rest of the inhabited coasts, we have merely some few meagre pioneer contributions to an investigation of this kind. A comparative examination of this material shows that there are at least 3 or 4 distinct dialects in Greenland and each one of these probably in turn falls into several dialectal subdivisions.

This circumstance may partly be explained by the natural boundaries existing between the various districts, which often cause all intercourse between the inhabitants of two neighboring districts to be broken off for a long period of time. But it is also possible that it may partly be explained by the fact that two or several immigrations have taken place from different tribes, each having its own dialect. There is some reason for giving the preference to this last explanation, if a comparison between the dialects shows that two groups which are now geographically separated have striking dialectal peculiarities in common; such an agreement would justify us in assuming the historical connection between the two language-groups, and accordingly also between the respective tribal groups, to have

been closer than that general connection existing between all Eskimo. No doubt the Greenlandic Eskimo have in earlier times been more of a wandering people than they are now. Today they must be called a settled people. They keep to those fjords where they are most at home and to the districts where they are born. At certain seasons of the year and in certain places where the fishing or reindeer hunting is good, large numbers of people congregate from all sides, yet they never come from a greater distance than 70—80 miles, and they do not remain together longer than a month or six weeks.

The tribe at *Ammassalik* on the east coast is now quite isolated, since the Eskimo who dwelt farther south on the same coast have all moved over to the west coast\*). But even before that time they do not seem to have had as much communication with their southern neighbors, as these neighbors had with each other or with the west coast\*\*).

With respect to the inhabitants of Cape York ( $76^{\circ}$ — $78^{\circ}$   $18'$  N. lat.) they have not time out of mind had any communication with the other Greenlanders. The inhabitants of *Upernavik*, their nearest neighbors to the south, have never met people from up there, but have only occasionally seen their sledge-tracks without knowing where they came from. The people of Cape York have not, so far as is known, any tradition about their southern countrymen. But there have repeatedly come immigrants to them from some unknown tribe in, or south of, Ellesmere Land, whose language they say is somewhat different from their own (cf. Introduction p. 38)\*).

\*) Meddelelser om Grönland Vol. XXV, 1902 (G. Meldorf).

\*\*) W. A. Graah's northernmost Greenlanders on the east coast at Omevik (about  $64^{\circ} 30'$  N lat.) do not seem to have had the slightest idea that there were other Greenlanders living farther north on the same coast. Cf. Graah: Undersøgelses-Reise til Østkysten af Grönland i Aarene 1828—31. København 1832, pag. 140.

\*\*\*, Peary: Northwest over the Great Ice, 1898, pp. 406, 488. — Kroeber: The Eskimo of Smith Sound (1899) n. s., pp. 266—268.

Also the southern Eskimo on the west coast, who are under Danish dominion, live in tolerably isolated groups, not only separated into Northerners and Southerners, but within each of these chief divisions, into small communities which are determined by the natural boundaries. The large ice-fjords cleft by the swift current, the long steep stretches of coast, where it is often impossible to find a single landing-place, the enormous masses of polar ice, which during most of the year shut out the whole east coast, and are by the current driven around Cape Farewell up along the west coast\*) — all this makes it difficult and dangerous for them to undertake long voyages. Therefore the inhabitants of the different districts have but seldom any opportunity of meeting or talking with each other, and they rarely intermarry. At the colony of Holstensborg (66° 56' N. lat.) the communication with the neighboring colonies is especially difficult on account of the long fjords where the current is very swift and through which the icebergs float from the inland ice to the sea. By this colony passes the dividing line between North and South Greenland, a division which also holds for such matters as the fact that the North Greenlanders drive dogs on the ice in the winter, whereas the South Greenlanders do not keep any dogs\*\*) and do not travel very much on the ice. — Farther north again Disko Bay is separated from *Oommannaq* Fjord by a peninsula covered with wild mountains which extends out 45 miles from the main body of the land. *Oommannaq* is again separated from the northernmost colony *Upernavik* by a long steep coast-line, where it is difficult to find a landing-place

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\*) H. Rink: Danish Greenland (London 1877), pp. 73—74. — Grönland (1857) Vol. II, pp. 122—123. — G. Holm in "Meddelelser om Grönland" Vol. VI, pp. 181—190.

\*\*) In 1885 the team of sledge-dogs farthest south were found at the trading-place *Sarfanguaq* (66° 50') a little south of Holstensborg. Cf. "Meddelelser om Grönland", Vol. VIII, p. 40. — The inhabitants of *Ammassalik* on the east coast also use teams of dogs.



and where the ice is uncertain in the winter. North of Upernavik similar conditions seem to prevail. Melville Bay has not yet been entirely explored, but at all events the northernmost inhabitants of *Upernavik* never come so far north. Such conditions must necessarily give rise to linguistic groupings or dialects.

Slight dialectic differentiations are indeed noticeable everywhere even within limited areas. In the region about Disko Bay, for instance, a man from Jakobshavn does not talk with the same accent as a man from Godhavn or one from Egedesminde. Around the *Oommannaq* Fjord, there is a difference between the language in its northeastern and in its southwestern corner.

One of the sharpest lines of linguistic division on the west coast seems to lie between the districts of *Oommannaq* and *Upernavik*, that is on both sides of Svartenhuk Peninsula at about 72° N. lat. When I came there from the south I met with a characteristic change in the stock of sounds, which seems to correspond to similar conditions on the east coast in the *Ammassalik* language. It is tempting to consider it more than accidental that there should be this phonetical conformity between two groups of languages so widely separated from each other, and to assume that there is a closer genetic connection between them than between either one of them and the other dialects in Greenland.

The following survey of the dialect forms from the various parts of Greenland, so far as I have been able to get information about them\*), shows a series of sound-changes which all are in perfect agreement with the character of the language on

\*) With respect to the South Greenlandic forms I am perfectly aware that many, perhaps most of them, are applicable only for a part of South Greenland. In reality we can no doubt here too distinguish between several dialects, although the distinguishing marks may only consist of some comparatively unimportant phonetical differences: but as to the nature of these differences and the boundaries between them, we have not yet sufficient information.



the whole. The sound-changes are classified according to the principle that those are first treated whose place of articulation has remained fixed, thereupon those whose place of articulation has been moved. The consonant changes are given first, the vowel changes last. The sounds, as they are given for each single sound change, are arranged geographically, from north to south, and then east. — As for those forms which I myself have not had an opportunity to hear and thus to control, I can only hope that I have not misunderstood my authorities, when I have made use of their examples from the various dialects, and rewritten them in my phonetical transcription.

My sources for these forms are:

For the forms from North Greenland (the northern inspektor division in Danish West Greenland, comprising the districts of *Upernavik*, *Oommannaq*, *Jakobshavn* and *Egedesminde*) my own direct notes.

For the forms from South Greenland older, written sources, among which I may especially mention S. Kleinschmidt's grammar and dictionary (South Greenlandic; takes up some few dialect forms without stating where they are used).

For the forms from Cape York (Smith Sound), the Eskimo Nikolai Broberg, with whom I traveled from Upernavik to Godhavn, and who a number of years earlier had come with an expedition ship (*Proteus* 1881?) to Cape York, where he had spent a year with *Sorqag*. Also Dr. Stein's\*) and Dr. Kroeber's\*\*) investigations of the Eskimo at Smith Sound.

For the forms from *Ammassalik* an East Eskimo woman who had been brought home to Copenhagen in 1903—04 by Joh. Petersen, the colonial manager of that colony. They both gave me much information about the dialect there. Furthermore the missionary P. Rüttel who was in Copenhagen in the winter of 1902—03 and who both gave me oral information and placed at my disposal some transcriptions of the language which he had taken down in *Ammassalik*. Also Commodore G. Holm's copy of Kleinschmidt's dictionary in which he, with the help of Joh. Petersen and of the native schoolmaster Johannes Hansen wrote down a number of East Greenlandic words, especially from *Ammassalik*\*\*\*).

\*) In *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, Vol. 48, 1902.

\*\*) *Bulletin Amer. Mus. Natur. Hist.* XII, 1899. Dr. Kroeber had the opportunity in New York in 1897—98 personally to examine six Eskimo from Smith Sound who had been brought home by Peary.

\*\*\*) G. Holm: *Den østgrønlandske Expedition*, pp. 219 ff.

## Dialect differences

## I. Consonantal differentiations with

$\eta$ (or $\eta$ ?) final ]	W Gr. 76° N. lat. (C. York)		<i>tim'ian</i> a bird	
$q$ final ]	W Gr. 72°—60° (N Gr., M Gr., S Gr.)		<i>tim'iaq</i>	
$\eta$ or $\tilde{r}$ final ]	E Gr. 65° N. lat. (Amm.)		<i>tim'iq</i> or <i>tim'ian</i>	
<hr/>				
$\eta$ (or $\eta$ ) ]	W Gr. 72°—71° N. lat. (Up., Omnq.)		<i>neḡiwoq</i> (or <i>neḡiwoq'</i>	
$r$ ]	W Gr. 69°—60° N. lat. (Jkh., M Gr., S Gr.)		<i>neriwoq</i> is eating	
$r$ , $\tilde{r}$ or $g$ ]	E Gr. 66° N. lat. (Amm.)		<i>negiwa'</i> he eats it	
	] <i>mamaḡa'ra</i> (or <i>mamaḡa'ra</i> )		<i>eḡina'</i> (or <i>eḡina'</i> )	
	] <i>mamara'ra</i> I find it very palatable		<i>erina'</i> his voice; melo	
	] <i>mamaṛa'ra</i>		—	
<hr/>				
$\eta$ or $\hat{g}$ ]	W Gr. 72°—66° (N Gr.)	<i>iḡa</i> a pot	<i>ajaḡaq</i> a kind of bilboque	
$g$ ]	W Gr. 66°—60° 15' S(Gr.)	<i>iga</i>	<i>ajagaq</i>	
$\eta$ or $\hat{g}$ ]	E Gr. 66° (Amm.)	<i>iḡa</i> or <i>iḡa</i>	<i>ajaḡaḡ</i>	
	] <i>kiḡaḡaq</i> south wind	<i>putuḡoq</i>	the big toe	
	] <i>kigaḡaq</i>	<i>putugoq</i>		
	] —	—		
<hr/>				
$\eta$ final ]	W Gr. 76° (C. York)	<i>marqoḡ</i> two	—	
$k$ final ]	W Gr. 72°—60°	<i>marḡuk</i>	<i>no'k</i> a point of lan	
$k$ or $\eta$ final ]	E Gr. 66° (Amm.)	<i>martik</i>	<i>no'ḡ</i>	
<hr/>				
$n$ final ]	W Gr. 76° (C. York)	<i>piḡasun</i> three	<i>tāl'iman</i> five	<i>qulin</i> te
$t$ final ]	W Gr. 72°—60°	<i>piḡasut</i>	<i>tāl'imat</i>	<i>qulit</i>
$n$ final ]	E Gr. 66° (Amm.)	<i>piḡasin</i>	<i>tāt'imā<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>qulin</i>
<hr/>				
$q$ ]	W Gr. 72°—60°	<i>peḡarpoq</i>	it is at hand, is to be ha	
$\underset{\circ}{r}$ (unvoiced $r$ ) ]	E Gr. 66° (Amm.)	<i>perarpoḡ</i>		
	] <i>katinēḡarquwḡuḡit</i>	inviting them to gather together		
	] <i>kalin'eraruwḡit</i>			

## in Greenland.

the place of articulation retained.

<i>tuloŋaŋ</i> a raven	—	—
<i>tuloŋaq</i> or <i>tulugaq</i>	<i>a<sup>u</sup>p'oq</i> thaws, melts	<i>-poq</i> (verbal suffix)
	<i>a<sup>i</sup>p'oŋ</i>	<i>-poŋ</i>

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<i>qeŋiwoq</i> (or <i>qeŋiwoq</i> )	<i>erneŋa</i> [eŋneŋa]	<i>anoŋe</i> wind
<i>qeŋiwoq</i> is frozen stiff	<i>ernera</i> his or my son	<i>anore</i>
<i>qeŋiwoŋ</i> (or <i>wŋ</i> )	<i>ernera</i> °	<i>anerē</i>

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<i>iŋi'l'oŋo</i> throwing it away	<i>niŋaq</i> snare	<i>na'laŋaq</i> one who is obeyed, master
<i>iŋi'l'ugo</i>	<i>niŋaq</i>	<i>na'laŋaq</i>
<i>iŋit'iŋo</i> (or <i>iŋit-iŋo</i> )	<i>niŋa</i>	—

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<i>-wing</i> (suffix) place	<i>-ling</i> (suffix) who has or is supplied with
<i>-wik</i>	<i>-lik</i>
<i>-piŋ</i>	—

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<i>qal'en</i> trousers	<i>-miun</i> (suffix) who	<i>-suin</i> (suffix) big,	<i>-un</i> (suffix) a means to,
<i>qarlet</i>	<i>-miut</i> dwell there,	<i>-suit</i> large,	<i>-ut</i> instrument
—	<i>-me'n</i> inhabitants	( <i>-tuin</i> )	—

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<i>ateqarpoq</i> he has a name, is called	<i>neqe</i> meat (to eat)	<i>-qartoq</i> (suffix) who has
<i>aterarpoŋ</i>	<i>nere</i> °	<i>kuisorartoŋ</i> one who has ° a membrum, male

q.] W Gr. 72° N. lat. (Up.)	<i>targip'oq</i> is hidden behind something
p.] W Gr. 71°—60° (Omnq., M Gr., S Gr.)	<i>tap'ip'oq</i> (the sun) has gone down
q.] E Gr. 66° N. lat. (Amm.)	<i>targip'oq</i>

] <i>marqaq</i> clay, clayey banks	<i>qarq't</i> come hither
] <i>map'aq</i>	<i>qap'et</i>
] —	—

k.] W Gr. 72° N. lat. (Up.)	<i>ak'erpoq</i> he is approaching
χ.] W Gr. 71°—60° (Omnq., M Gr., S Gr.)	<i>aχ'erpoq</i>
k.] E Gr. 66° N. lat. (Amm.)	<i>ak'erpoq</i>

] —	<i>nā'k'a</i> no	<i>miā'k'ortut</i> howling (d
] <i>naχ'uwia</i> its origin	<i>na'χ'a</i>	<i>miā'χ'otut</i>
] <i>nak'iwia</i> his or her father	( <i>erqe</i> )	—

s, 's.] W Gr. 72° N. lat. (Up.)	-s'oq (participial suffix)	<i>tikis'oq</i> one who has arrived
t.] W Gr. 71°—66° (Omnq., M Gr.)	-t'oq	<i>tikit'oq</i>
ts.] W Gr. 66°—60°(?) S Gr.	-tsoq	<i>tikitsoq</i>
ts.] E Gr. 66° (Amm.)	-t'ceq	<i>tikil'ceq</i>

] <i>a'ts'a't</i> just now, just recently	<i>nā's'eq</i> a fjord-seal ( <i>phoca foetida</i> )
] <i>a't'a't</i>	<i>nāt's'eq</i>
] <i>a'tsa't</i>	<i>nātseq</i>
] <i>a't'ca't</i>	<i>nāt'sia</i>

] <i>is'uanisarpoq</i> is peeping through the window	<i>qas'oṇawoq</i> is quiet (the weather of the sea)
] <i>it'uanisarpoq</i>	<i>qat'oṇawoq</i>
] <i>itsuanisarpoq</i>	<i>qatsoṇawoq</i>
] <i>it'suarpoq</i>	—

's.] W Gr. 72° N. lat. (Up.)	<i>oqa'w'ceq</i> a word	<i>ajornakāw'ṣaqa'oq</i> it is damne
s.] W Gr. 71°—60° N. lat.	<i>oqa'w'seq</i>	<i>ajornakā'w'saqa'oq</i> poor
s.] E Gr. 66° N. lat. (Amm.)	<i>ora'w'sia</i>	( <i>ajornakajeqa'oq</i> )

<i>tarqarsut</i> a looking-glass	<i>ergortät</i> clothes which have been washed
<i>taparsut</i>	<i>eportät</i>
<i>tarqarset</i>	<i>ergortät</i>

<i>kalerqip'a</i> he gets an inkling of something	<i>nerqiwiane</i> (?) on or at his table
<i>kalep'ip'a</i>	<i>nep'iwiane</i>
—	<i>nerqiwiane</i>

<i>i<sup>w</sup>k'orpa</i> he divides it, cuts it into pieces	<i>säk'aq</i> a thin-haired skin	—
<i>i<sup>w</sup>χ'orpa</i>	<i>säχaq</i>	<i>tiχ'aq</i> a he-seal
<i>i<sup>w</sup>k'urpa</i>	<i>säk'aq</i>	<i>tik'ā</i>

<i>nik'erlonο</i> setting a snare for it (the bird), catching it in a snare
<i>niχ'erlonο</i>

<i>ajin'isoq</i> one who is good	<i>man's'oq</i> that which is uneven	<i>ka'çonane</i> soon
<i>ajon'it'oq</i>	<i>man't'oq</i>	<i>kat'orane</i>
<i>ajon'itsoq</i>	<i>man'tsoq</i>	<i>katsorane</i>
<i>ajin'i<sup>w</sup>t'çeq</i>	<i>man'tsen</i>	<i>k'at'ç'ernan'e</i>

<i>nuc'ät</i> hair (plur.) of the head	<i>qis'up'a</i> he scratches it	—
<i>nut'ät</i>	<i>qit'up'a</i>	<i>a't'a'rpoq</i> is yawning
<i>nutsät</i>	<i>qitsup'a</i>	<i>a'tsa'rpoq</i>
<i>nut'çak'a</i>	<i>qit'çip'a</i>	<i>a'tsa'rpoq</i>

<i>qawaη'arnis'ät</i> (or <i>-ni'sät</i> )	—
<i>qawaη'arnitsät</i> people from the south	<i>qaç'orarpa:</i> piles them up
<i>qawaη'arnitsät</i>	—
<i>qawaη'arnitsän</i>	<i>qat'çerarpa</i> flings it ashore



*s, s* ] W Gr. 71°—60° *tamas'a* here it is! *täs'a* there it is; there is that  
*t, ts* ] E Gr. 66° (Amm.) *tamat'a* now immediately *tätsa*

*s* ] W Gr. 72°—60° *puise* a seal *asäsa* the one he loves  
*l* ] E Gr. 66° *puile* a seal *asala* the one whose property he takes

(*t*) ] W Gr. 72° N. lat. (Up.) *kätuna'suit* (*kutättoq* pronunciation  
*λ* ] W Gr. 72°—60° (N Gr., S Gr.) *qawλuna'rsuit* the large Europeans  
*t* ] E Gr. 66° (Amm.) *qat'una'q*

] W Gr. 72°—60° *uwλ'ut* days *uwλ'ume* today *uwλ'orpoq*  
 ] E Gr. 66° (Amm.) *uw'tun* *ut'ume* *ut'ulerpoq*

] *al'uaq* a hole made in the ice (to fish or breathe *al'eroq* jaw-bone  
 ] *at'ua* through) *at'erue*

] *piwλ'uarua* may you be happy *piwλ'ugo* (-*ηo*) on account of the  
 ] *piwt'uarua* *piwt'öηo*

*j* ] W Gr. 76° N. lat. (C. York) *kijima* I alone —  
*s* ] W Gr. 72°—60° *kisima* *-kasik* (suffix) evil, repulsive  
*j* ] E Gr. 66° (Amm.) *kij-t'arma* I alone *-kajik* (e. g. *nanekajik*,

*p* ] W Gr. 72° N. lat. (Up.) *-pik* (suffix) place *kisarpik* anchoring ground  
*φ* ] W Gr. 71°—60° N. lat. *-φik* *kisarφik*  
*p* ] E Gr. 66° N. lat. (Amm.) *-piη* *kisarpin*

] *sarpaq* current *suna<sup>w</sup>p'a* what (is) that there! *ki<sup>w</sup>p'at* servant  
 ] *sarφaq* *suna<sup>w</sup>φa* *ki<sup>w</sup>φ'at*  
 ] *sarpaq* *suna<sup>w</sup>p'a* *ki<sup>w</sup>p'at*

] *a<sup>w</sup>p'arλia* side-room *sap'iortoq* a smith *ilarpäl'ät'a'rpoq* he  
 ] *a<sup>w</sup>φarλia* (?) *sap'iortoq* *ilarpäl'ät'a'rpoq*  
 ] *ap'arsea* — —

<i>pis'auwa, pis'ua</i>	<i>aç'iwoq</i> spits blood	<i>aç'artorpoq</i> bears a burden,
<i>pitjsawa</i> he will get it	<i>at'iarpoq</i> (hemoptysis)	<i>at'arpoq</i> transports something

are of

<i>orlo</i> just like	<i>ił'o</i> house	<i>ił'orsuaq</i> a large house
<i>orto</i>	( <i>it'o</i> ) <i>it'üwa</i> his house	<i>it'ertuaq</i>
as become day	<i>a<sup>w</sup>ł'arpoq</i> he is departing	<i>orluwoq</i> he is falling
	<i>a<sup>w</sup>t'arpoq</i>	<i>ortoçq</i>
<i>ıł'eq</i> a long-tailed duck (anas	<i>ał'at'oçq</i> a young seal	<i>maral'uk</i> boy, morass
<i>ıterajik</i> glacialis)	<i>at'at'e<sup>r</sup></i>	<i>marat'çuk</i>
<i>ınerlugo</i> (- <i>ıno</i> ) doing it im-	<i>oqarłune</i> speaking	<i>ał'unarq</i> a strap (of hide)
<i>ınertüno</i> mediately	<i>oçartune</i>	<i>at'ınarq</i>

<i>ıanokasik</i>	<i>sisamat</i> four	<i>j</i> ] <i>ıbid. pıñıjak</i> a blister
<i>t'ekajik</i> (names)	<i>t'sıamat</i>	<i>t</i> ] <i>ıbid. pıñıt'an</i> a gulls' dunghill

<i>ıoqarçik</i> place where there are houses, settlement	<i>oqarpınar</i> he says to him
<i>t'erarpın</i>	<i>oqarçıgar</i> (- <i>ınar</i> )
	<i>oçarpıgar</i>

<i>ıerpät</i> black guillemots	<i>ka<sup>w</sup>p'it</i> coffee	<i>sip'orpa</i> wrings the water out of it
<i>ıerçät</i>	<i>ka<sup>w</sup>ç'it</i>	<i>sı<sup>w</sup>ç'orpa</i> (the skin, the clothing)

exaggerating (in his story)

*tı<sup>w</sup>ç'uarpa* spits it out with a breath  
*tıp'ukarpa*

## II. Consonantal differentiation:

r ] W Gr. 72° (Up.)	<i>pa<sup>o</sup>rortog</i>	η, ʔ ] W Gr. 76° (C. York)	<i>nasaŋa</i> my cap
	creeping		
η ] W Gr. 69° (Jkh.)	<i>pa<sup>w</sup>ηortog</i>	r ] W Gr. 71°—60°	<i>nāsara</i>
m ] S Gr.	<i>pa<sup>o</sup>rmortog</i>		
n ] E Gr. 66°	<i>pa<sup>w</sup>rnorto(q)</i>		
		ʔ ] E Gr. 66° (Amm.)	<i>(p<sup>o</sup>ŋa) -ŋa m.</i>

η ] WGr. 76° (C. York)	<i>tuluŋaq</i> a raven	<i>qilaluŋaŋ</i> a white whale	—
η ] WGr. 72° (Up.)	<i>tuluŋaq</i>	<i>qilaluŋaq</i> (delphinus laukas)	<i>niwiuŋak</i>
w ] WGr. 71° (Omnq.)	<i>tuluwaq</i>	<i>qilaluwaq</i>	<i>niwiuwaŋ</i>
g ] WGr., S Gr.	<i>tulugaq</i>	<i>qilalugaq</i>	<i>niwiugak</i>
] E Gr. (Amm.)	<i>tulua</i>	<i>qilaliŋaq(?)</i> or <i>qi<sup>i</sup>aliwaq</i>	—

η ] WGr. 72° (Up)	<i>na<sup>w</sup>ηog</i> is at an end	<i>a<sup>w</sup>ηog</i> it is rotten	<i>asaŋog</i> he love
w ] WGr. 71°—60°	<i>na<sup>u</sup>woq</i>	<i>a<sup>u</sup>woq</i>	<i>asawoq</i>
w(?) ] E Gr. 66°	<i>na<sup>w</sup>oŋ</i>	<i>a<sup>u</sup>woŋ</i>	—

<sup>w</sup> k ] WGr. 72° (Up.)	<i>ki<sup>w</sup>k<sup>u</sup>miarpa</i> bears it on the arm, holds it lifted
<sup>w</sup> χ ] WGr. 71° (Omnq.)	<i>ki<sup>w</sup>χ<sup>u</sup>miarpa</i>
<sup>w</sup> s ] WGr., S Gr.	<i>ki<sup>w</sup>s<sup>u</sup>miarpa</i>
<sup>w</sup> t ] E. Gr. 66°	<i>ki<sup>w</sup>t<sup>u</sup>miarpa</i>

k ] W Gr. 72°—66°? (N Gr.)	<i>ko<sup>o</sup>roq</i> valley, chasm
q ] W Gr. 66°—60° (S Gr.)	<i>qo<sup>o</sup>roq</i>
q ] E Gr. 66° (Amm.)	<i>qo<sup>o</sup>roŋ</i>

η <sup>i</sup> ] N Gr.	<i>i<sup>w</sup>η<sup>i</sup>erpoq</i> is singing a drum-song	<i>er<sup>w</sup>ηuseq</i> a bottle, jar	—
m <sup>i</sup> ] S Gr.	<i>im<sup>i</sup>erpoq</i>	<i>ermuseq</i>	<i>im<sup>i</sup>η<sup>i</sup>uaq</i> (a kind of fish)
η <sup>i</sup> ] E Gr.	<i>i<sup>w</sup>η<sup>i</sup>erpoŋ</i>	<i>er<sup>w</sup>ηuse(q)</i>	<i>im<sup>i</sup>η<sup>i</sup>uaq</i>

η ] N Gr.	<i>uni<sup>i</sup>ŋa<sup>i</sup></i> he stays with them (on the journey)
g ] S Gr.	<i>uni<sup>i</sup>ŋiga<sup>i</sup></i>
w ] E Gr.	<i>uni<sup>i</sup>ŋiwa<sup>i</sup></i>

with the place of articulation moved.

<i>ʷ</i> η ] W Gr. 72° (Up.) <i>aʷηorqarra</i> speaks to him harshly, reproaches him	<i>ρ</i> ] N Gr. <i>op'a.woq</i> (the boat) rolls	<i>ρ</i> ] <i>ilop'aq</i> the right side
<i>w</i> ] W Gr. 71°—60° <i>aworqarra</i>	<i>w</i> ] S Gr. <i>uwa.woq</i>	<i>rφ</i> ] <i>ilorφaq</i> of the kayak
<i>m</i> ] E Gr. 66° <i>amorqawa</i>	<i>ρ</i> ] E Gr. <i>orqarwoη</i>	

a blue-bottle	<i>tv'ηa'q</i> tusk (of a walrus etc.)	<i>υ'ηaq</i> codfish	<i>eqalunaq</i> salmon-trout
	<i>tv'ηa'q</i>	<i>υ'waq</i>	<i>eqaluwaq</i>
	<i>tv'ga'q</i>	<i>υ'gaq</i>	<i>eqalunaq</i>
	—	<i>υ'wā</i> , plur. <i>υ'wkan</i>	<i>eqaloraq</i>

<i>piumaηoq</i> he is willing, he wishes	<i>aλ.<sup>1</sup>a'oηoq</i> is something else or some-	<i>qupinoq</i> it is cleft	<i>paʷηuηa</i> up there (toward the east)
<i>piumawoq</i>	<i>aλ'a'uwoq</i> one else, is a stranger	<i>qupiwoq</i>	<i>pawuηa</i>
<i>pi'maon</i>	<i>at'a'uwoη</i>	<i>qupiwon</i>	—

<i>k</i> ] (C. York) <i>ik'e</i> (?)	<i>wk</i> ] (ibid.) <i>iwk'in</i> those
<i>s</i> ] W Gr. 72°—60° <i>is'e</i> cold, frost	<i>wλ</i> ] (ibid.) <i>iwλ'it</i>
<i>t</i> ] E Gr. <i>i't-ileqā</i> it is very cold	<i>wt</i> ] (ibid.) <i>iwt'in</i> or <i>iwt-i'w'n</i>

<i>k</i> ] (Up.) <i>kanonip'it</i> ( <i>kutät'oq</i> pronunciation) how are you?
<i>q</i> ] W Gr. 72°—60° <i>qanorip'it</i>

<i>kan'us'aq</i> copper, brass	<i>m</i> ] (ibid.) <i>qum'orsorpoq</i> (the sun) is peeping out
<i>kanus'aq</i>	<i>η</i> ] (ibid.) <i>quη'orsorpoq</i>
	] (ibid.) —

## III. Vocalic

<i>i</i> ]	W Gr. 76° (C. York)	<i>iliwerqiwik</i>	a stone-cellar, stone-pit
<i>i</i> ( <i>u</i> ) ]	W Gr. 72° (Up.)	—	
<i>u</i> ]	W Gr. 71° (Omnq.)	<i>ilw<sup>er</sup>quwik</i> ( <i>ilw<sup>er</sup>eq</i> )	
<i>i</i> ( <i>u</i> ) ]	W Gr. (S Gr.)	<i>iliweq</i>	
<i>i</i> ]	E Gr. (Amm.)	<i>iliā</i> , plur. <i>Ilerqin</i>	(name of a place) cf. <i>Iliwermet</i> , the inhabitants of <i>Ilerqin</i> .

<i>u</i> ]	W Gr. 71°-66°?	<i>iluweq</i>	a grave	<i>ituwneq</i>	a pass, valley	<i>kalun<sup>er</sup>eq</i>	a chair
<i>i</i> ]	S Gr.	<i>iliweq</i>		<i>itiwneq</i>	(between two fjords)	<i>kali<sup>w</sup>neq</i>	link
<i>i</i> ]	E Gr.	( <i>iliweq</i> )		<i>iti<sup>w</sup>neq</i>		<i>kalin<sup>er</sup>eq</i>	

<i>u</i> ]	W Gr.	<i>āl<sup>er</sup>qut</i>	the jaw-bones	<i>āl<sup>u</sup>aq</i>	hole in the ice	<i>alus<sup>er</sup>arpa<sup>er</sup></i>	is licking
<i>i</i> ]	E Gr.	<i>āt<sup>er</sup>qin</i>		<i>āt<sup>i</sup>wa(q)</i>		<i>alitorpa<sup>er</sup></i>	it up

]	<i>iserçigigamiuk</i>	when he went in to him	<i>kigutilik</i>	one who has teeth
]	<i>iserpigi<sup>er</sup>gamuk</i>		<i>kigutilik</i>	

]	<i>na<sup>er</sup>tsut</i>	short ones	<i>nasarmiutaq</i>	a little bird (of the sparrow family)
]	<i>na<sup>er</sup>tut</i>	short trousers	<i>narsarmulan</i>	

]	<i>piñujak</i>	a blister	<i>pisut<sup>er</sup>oq</i>	one that walks	<i>puisersuaq</i>	a large sea
]	<i>piñilaq</i>		<i>pisit<sup>er</sup>oq</i>	(one that walks) a bear	<i>puil<sup>er</sup>tiwa(q)</i>	a ground seal ( <i>phoca barbata</i> )

]	<i>takore<sup>er</sup>riniuk</i>	if he sees him	<i>ta<sup>er</sup>manik<sup>er</sup>ut</i>	that time, in those times
]	<i>takere<sup>er</sup>riniuk</i>		<i>ta<sup>er</sup>manik<sup>er</sup>it</i>	

<i>o</i> ]	W Gr.	<i>āl<sup>er</sup>āt<sup>er</sup>oq</i>	a young seal	<i>āl<sup>er</sup>eroq</i>	a jaw-bone	<i>amaroq</i>	a wolf
<i>e</i> ]	E Gr.	<i>āt<sup>er</sup>āt<sup>er</sup>eq</i>		<i>āt<sup>er</sup>ereq</i>		<i>amare</i>	(now only applied to persons)

]	<i>nanokasik</i>	the naughty bear	<i>sānasoq</i>	one who makes (build etc.) something
]	<i>nanekajik</i>	(name of a person)	<i>sānaleq</i>	



## differentiations.

<i>is'iuφ'a</i> (interjection:) I should	—
<i>usiuk'a</i> have thought that	<i>ajiη'ilaq</i> or <i>aji<sup>w</sup>η'ilaq</i> is good, is not bad
<i>usiūφ'a</i>	<i>ajuη'ilaq</i>
<i>usiūφ'a</i>	<i>ajuη'ilaq</i>
<i>isi'ip'a</i>	<i>ajiη'ilaq</i>

<i>kalu<sup>w</sup>s'arpoq</i> pulls and jerks	<i>qap'uarpoq</i> froths;	<i>tig'uka'woq</i> drifts on the
<i>kali<sup>w</sup>s'arpoq</i> in order to	<i>qap'iorpoq</i> talks incessantly	<i>tig'ika'woq</i> sea for wind
<i>kalitarpoq</i> advance	<i>qap'iala'rpoq</i> —	and tide

<i>at'siul'ngo</i> (-ηo) naming him	<i>ilumio</i> a fetus	<i>inuk</i> human being, Eskimo
<i>at's'et'ugo</i>	<i>ilimiaη</i>	<i>inik</i> (?), <i>e</i>

<i>ki<sup>w</sup>φ'a'wηa</i> I am a servant	<i>qalequta'i</i> a cover, the outer	<i>qeqoq</i> clay, chalk
<i>ki<sup>w</sup>p'a'wηa</i> he has me as his servant	<i>qaleqita'i</i> covering of something	<i>qeqik</i>

<i>nukerua'i</i> its or his sinews;	<i>piaraη'uaq</i> one of the young (of	<i>piņasut</i> three
<i>nukeriwi</i> (-wai?) strength	<i>piaraη'iwasik</i> (?) an animal)	<i>piņasin</i>

<i>sikut</i> ice (plur.)	<i>takuwoηa</i> I see	<i>takuwit</i> (or -i't) do you see (it)?
<i>sikit</i>	<i>takiwoa</i>	<i>takive</i> , <i>takiwin</i>

*tusarnersumik* something that is delightful to hear (Instrumentalis)

*tusarnersimik*

<i>anore</i> the wind	<i>kiηornaqut</i> (-ηut) after him or it	<i>mar'uk</i> two	<i>nano(q)</i> a bear
<i>anere</i>	<i>kijernaqit</i>	<i>mar'le</i>	<i>nan'eη</i> (obsolete)

<i>taφ'arsv't</i> a mirror	<i>najorpa'tit</i> he is dwelling with you
<i>taφ'arse't</i>	<i>ni'jerpa'tit</i> (?)

<i>i, a</i> ]	W G. 76° (C. York)	<i>niŋ'ik</i> a snare (for birds)	<i>harmilan</i> yes of course.
<i>e</i> ]	W G. 72° (Up.)	<i>niŋ'eq</i>	<i>ŋ'(ila)</i> yes!
<i>a</i> ]	W G. 71°—60°	<i>niŋ'aq, niŋaq</i>	<i>ap(ila)</i>
<i>a, i</i> ]	E G. 66° (Amm.)	<i>niŋa'</i>	<i>armila', imila', i'</i>

## IV. Denalization

<i>n, ŋ</i> ]	W Gr.	<i>inuk</i> a human being	<i>inuit</i> human beings	<i>inoŋ'ortoq</i> one that
— ]	E Gr.	<i>e'</i> or	<i>e'win</i> or	<i>inoŋ'orta'</i> her new-
		<i>e' &lt; *inik?</i>	<i>e'we'</i>	
		] <i>krnalik</i> one who has a face	<i>ina'ne</i> in its place, nest, lain	
		] <i>kraliŋ</i> an owl	<i>ina'ne</i> or	
			<i>ia'ne</i> in the stump-bed	
		] <i>kiŋua'sa</i> his descendants	<i>kiŋumut</i> back, again	<i>kiŋuta'ɛ</i> his teeth
		<i>kiŋiwa'a</i>	<i>kiŋimut</i>	<i>kiŋita'ɛ</i>
		—	(or <i>krmut?</i> )	(or <i>krta'ɛ?</i> )

I shall try to give a short sketch of the chief phonetical peculiarities of the Greenlandic dialects so far as I have been enabled to get information about them\*).

The stock of sounds found in the phonetical analysis of the language (v. p. 81) seems to prevail throughout the whole of West Greenland except in the *Upernavik* District, where three of the long aspirated fricatives are absent; the fourth, the *λ*-sound is possibly modified in more cases than in the one which I noted down (v. p. 192), but it occurs in a great many words which I took note of in *Upernavik*, so it does not seem to have had the same fate as the related sounds (*ρ χ φ*, among which, however, it would always occupy a peculiar position).

\* ) With respect to the musical accent, I shall simply refer to what I have said about that subject in § 22.

$a^w\eta^oq$  yes is said       $imin'a$  such a one, thus  
 $e\eta^o(q)$                        $iman'a$  thus

### and loss of sounds.

has become a human being, is born       $inuiagatig\epsilon t$  ( $-\eta\epsilon t$ ) crowds' of human beings  
 born child                                       $ine^wqatig\epsilon t$   
     (or  $e^wiaqitig\epsilon t$ ?)

$inim\epsilon pa$  is he (or it) in (in the house)?       $i\eta e\lambda agamik$  when they had travelled a while  
 $inim\epsilon pa$  or                                       $e\eta^l erta\eta amik$   
 $e m\epsilon pa$

$ki\eta orna$  after that, later on       $niviarsiaq$  unmarried woman, maid  
 $ki^l e^w rna$                                        $ne^j arsiaq$

### The consonant-system in the dialects of Oommanaq and Upernawik

		uvula	back	point	lip	uvula	back	point	lip	
Stopped Consonants	{	$\eta$	$\eta$	$n$	$m$	$\eta$	$\eta$	$n$	$m$	voiced
		$q$	$k$	$t$	$p$	$q$	$k$	$t$	$p$	voiceless
Open Consonants (Fricatives)	{	$r$	$g$	$j\ l$	$w$	$r$		$j\ l$	$w$	voiced
		$\rho$	$\chi$	$s\ \lambda$	$\varphi$			$s\ \lambda$		voiceless

North of *Oommanaq*, then,  $\rho$   $\chi$   $\varphi$  are replaced by  $q$  (=  $r q$ )  $k$  and  $p$ . Not always, but yet to a great extent  $t$  (South Greenlandic  $ts$ ) is replaced by  $s$  or  $\varsigma$ , and likewise in many significant cases,  $r$  is replaced by  $\eta$  and  $w$  by  $\eta$ , this last for instance in the 3 pers. ind. of all the verbs which otherwise in Greenland end in *-woq*, but in *Upernawik* in *-noq*.

As for the vowels, we find occasionally *i* for *u* (*ajiñ-ilay* or rather [*ajiñ-ñilay*] for *ajun-ilay*). *ü* is said to be more frequent than elsewhere (*perqüw-loho* for *perquw-loho* etc.)<sup>\*</sup>). On the whole, the vowels seem to become more strongly fronted and palatalized than farther south.

These peculiarities of the *Upernavik* dialect present themselves in a strange light on account of the fact that the *kutätut* phenomenon is especially common in this part of Greenland (cf. § 30). The organs of speech here seem to have a special tendency to a childish pronunciation of the words.

About the language at Cape York, only very little is known. The people at *Upernavik* who have had an opportunity to meet with them on expedition ships, say: "We understand them very well and use the same language, yet theirs is somewhat strange (*immikkut*), and when they talk together rapidly with each other, we cannot understand them". It seems as if they in several cases have *j*, or a similar voiced sound, for *s*<sup>\*\*</sup>). Furthermore it appears from the lists of words that they almost regularly in the final position have *n* for *t*, *ñ* for *k*, also perhaps sometimes *ñ* for *q*<sup>\*\*\*</sup>). I have not otherwise met with this in isolated words in the present West-Greenlandic language, but only in connected speech, when *t* and *k* occur between two vowels (*svt uko* > *svn-uko*<sup>1</sup>)).

All in all, then, there seems to be some difference between

<sup>\*</sup>) M. Mörch: *Avangnáp tungâne oqalugpalárusiaq* (a little account from North Greenland, from *Ik'orsuit*), in *Atuagagdliutit* 1900, no. 2, p. 19.

<sup>\*\*</sup>) Pastor Mörch in *Upernavik* writes to me: "Those natives of Cape York which Peary brought with him were not *kutättut*;" [cf. p. 179] "I spoke with two of them who had come ashore; they spoke like the Greenlanders here, but they pronounced *s* indistinctly. They said *aqago takujuragit* instead of *aqago takussuragit* (I shall see you to-morrow), *kijima* instead of *kisima* (I alone)".

<sup>\*\*\*</sup>) When Kroeber writes *tunirng* (corresponding to the South Greenlandic *tuneg*, an inhabitant of the inland), this may perhaps be rewritten phonetically as [*tunēŋ*].

<sup>1</sup> what (are) they?

the dialects of Cape York and of *Upernawik*, even if only slight.

The difference between the dialect of *Upernawik* and South Greenlandic must be considerable, if those natives of *Upernawik* are to be believed who declared that they could not understand a South Greenlander at all with the exception of some few single words. Even as far north as in the *Oomman-naq* District I met Greenlanders who thought that people from *Upernawik* talked very differently from themselves.

*Upernawik* and *Oommannaq* have in common the sporadic occurrence of  $\eta$  instead of  $r$  between two vowels:  $n\bar{e}\eta i w o q$  (he is eating) for  $neri w o q$  etc.

Common to the whole of North Greenland all the way from *Upernawik* to *Ato* (*Agto*) is the use of  $\eta$  for  $g$ . According to private information\*), the  $g$ -sound does not begin to be in common use before at Holstensborg and from there toward the south as far as *Nanortalik* in the Julianehaab District, accordingly in "Middle Greenland" (about  $60^{\circ}$ — $67^{\circ}$  N. lat.). To the south of the Eskimo settlement *Iḷokasik*, which lies south of the last mentioned trading-place,  $\eta$  is again used instead of  $g$ . Yet I have found  $g$  used sporadically in North Greenland, both in Disko Bay and *Oommannaq* Fjord (cf. § 8), but  $\eta$  is everywhere the most frequent. In the *Upernawik* dialect, I got the same impression, although the incompleteness of my investigations there leave me in uncertainty as to which of the two sounds is most predominant.

Also the sound-group  $r\eta$  (or  $r\eta$ ,  $\eta$ ) seems to be common to all North Greenlandic as opposed to the South or Middle Greenlandic  $rn$  (sometimes  $rm$ ). Examples of this are given in § 8, p. 82 (cf. Chr. Rasmussen Grönl. Grammatik p. 15).

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\*) From the present director of Godthaab Seminary, who at my inquiry took the trouble to test the pronunciation of Greenlanders from all parts of the west coast in a number of words where South Greenlanders pronounce the sound  $g$ .



With respect to the use of *t* and *s*, West Greenland may be divided into three parts: the South Greenlanders use the sound-combination *ts*; instead of this, long *t* is used north of Holstensborg(?) as far as the north coast of *Oommannaq* Fjord: in the *Upernavik* District we find in these cases *s* or *ç* (post-palatalized and usually long).

Long *s* (or in Kleinschmidt's orthography *ss*), which is common to all of West Greenland, has a peculiarly modified articulation in South Greenland by which it becomes different from the short *s*. This peculiarity also constitutes one of the differences between South Greenlandic and North Greenlandic, but, since I have not had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the South Greenlandic pronunciation by hearing it myself, I do not know in how far this *s* resembles the *Upernavik* *ç*-sound (cf. § 9).

The dialect of *Ammassalik* in East Greenland has the following peculiarities: *q* *k* *p* instead of *ρ* *χ* *φ*, likewise *t* for *λ* (in the language of *Upernavik* *λ* is usual, in the language of *Amassalik*, rare). Furthermore *i* (*ĩ*?) is to a large extent used instead of *u*, *e* instead of *o*, these vowels having become unrounded; this is, to be sure, unusual in *Upernavik*, but it is not altogether unknown. — The *g*-sound seems to be usual in East Greenlandic, whereby it is connected with South Greenlandic on the west coast. Likewise this dialect is no doubt connected with South Greenlandic in its use of *ts* (i. e. *tç*) where the middle belt on the west coast has *t* (*Jakobshavn* — *Oommannaq*) and the *Upernavik* dialect *ç*. Thus, from a phonetical point of view, it deviates from the dialect of *Upernavik* in two essential points, a fact which makes me hesitate to assume a very close connection between these two dialects.

On the whole, it may be said that most of the peculiarities are piled up in the language of *Amassalik*, which bears evidence of having been isolated for a long time. When the

language at Smith Sound and in *Upernavik* District is more closely examined some time, it will probably be possible to decide how great importance, if any, is to be attached to the points of resemblance between these dialects. Perhaps it is already worth while noticing the scattered instances where the East Greenlanders just like the natives of Cape York, have *j* instead of *s* and *i* instead of *a* (*i'm* = *a'p*). — The language of *Amasalik* is especially striking for its frequent change of *q* to *r* and for its peculiar cases of the loss of a nasal consonant between two vowels within the very stems of words.

§ 32. Dialects outside of Greenland. The object I now have in mind is with the help of my knowledge of the phonetical nature of the Greenlandic language, to make some conjectures with respect to the phonetics of the more distant dialects west of Davis Strait, to see how far it is possible to follow the Greenlandic system of sounds in them, and to compare the various deviations which have fallen to the lot of their sounds and word-forms.

Since I have had no opportunity to become acquainted with the living, spoken language, I shall try to get along as well as possible with what there is to be had of written specimens of these dialects.

It is convenient to begin with the dialect of Labrador, which is best known.

In form, the consonant system of this dialect corresponds fully to the South Greenlandic system. There are the four stopped consonants (*q k t p*), the four voiced fricatives (*r q l w*), and the four nasals (the group *rŋ* occurs). With respect to the unvoiced fricatives, there can be no doubt, to judge from Bourquin's description of the consonants (Gr. § 5—6), that at least three of them occur. In the Labrador orthography, [*ρ*]

is indicated by *ch*, *rg*, [*ʒ*] by *gg*, *vg*<sup>\*</sup>, [*k*] by *dl* (*rl*, *rl*); *br* corresponds to the Greenlandic [*ɸ*], as in *uibrak*, a fern, = Gr. *uɸrak*; they are both unvoiced, but the Labrador sound is probably slightly less open than the Greenlandic sound. It is rare. The *s*-sounds seem to be just as loosely articulated as in Greenland and seem here too to be of a double nature (Bourquin Gr. § 8—9). [*q*] is used in Labrador as in South Greenland, but in North Greenlandic it is changed to [*ŋ*].

The phonetical elements of the two languages seem on the whole to correspond to each other; on closer comparison, however, we find not a few cases of sound-shiftings, just as there are also various grammatical-morphological and lexicographical differences. Here only the phonetical relations will be taken into consideration.

[*q*—*w*] L. *ōgak* [*ɸgak*] codfish, *tullugak* [*tuluqaq*] raven, *tōgag* [*tɸgag*] walrus tusk; West Greenlandic has in these words in some districts *-waq*, in other districts *-qaq*, cf. § 30 (p. 194—195). A blue-bottle is in Labrador called *niwiawak*, in Greenland the suffix is *-wak* or *-qak*. The verbal suffix in Labrador is *-vok* [*wɔq*] just as in the greater part of West Greenland (but Up. *-noq*).

[*t*—*s*] [*j*—*s*] *t* and especially *j* have in a number of cases in Greenlandic passed into *s*, while in Labrador they have remained unchanged. *j* is therefore much rarer in Greenlandic than in Labrador. It is possible that there may be proved some phonetical law for these transitions, especially for the change of *j*.

I take the opportunity here also to cite a number of parallel examples from the more distant dialects in order to be able to refer to a complete survey whenever I find it necessary in the course of the following investigation.

Where there is no remark to the contrary, the word in the second column has the same meaning as the corresponding word in the first column.

<sup>\*</sup>) Except in the word *magguk*, where *gg* = [*ɸ*], cf. Bourquin Gr. § 6, note.

Labrador *t*

*sittamat* four  
*itterpok* goes in  
*makitek*, hip, loin  
*ittigak* toe  
*qarritak* brain  
*illitarsivok* he knows  
*kēta* a little; just now  
*ipte* juice in plants or meat

Labrador *j*

*qejuk* wood, kindling wood  
*puije* a seal  
*īje* an eye  
*ijerpa* hides it  
*angijok* large  
     *-jok* (participial suffix)  
     *-ujak* (nominal suffix) resem-  
         bling something  
     *-ujarpok* (verbal suffix) it re-  
         sembles something  
     *-rkijak* which is something in  
         a higher degree  
*aujak* summer

Labrador *tj*

*igalatjat* windows  
*tingmitjat* birds  
*uqloritjat* stars  
*ajutjat* boils  
*tôtjak*<sup>1</sup>  
*kitjarpok* is warm  
*katjarekpok* has got a deep voice

Greenland *s*

*sisamat*  
*iserpoq*  
*makiseq*  
*isigaq*  
*qaraseq*  
*ilisarsivog*  
*krsa* finally, at length  
*ī<sup>u</sup>s·eq*

Greenland *s*

*qisuk*  
*puise*  
*is·e*  
*is·erpa·*  
*aḡiso·q*  
     *-soq*  
     *-usaq*  
     *-usarpog*  
     *-rqisarpog* does something  
         carefully, exactly  
*a.<sup>u</sup>saq*

Greenland *s*

*igalūs·üt*  
*timris·ät*  
*uḡ·oris·ät*  
*ajus·ät*  
*tu·saq*<sup>1</sup>  
*kis·arpog*  
*qas·aripog*

<sup>1</sup> The chief beam in the roof of an Eskimo house or at the top of a tent supporting the smaller cross-beams.

<i>kutjarpok</i> gets the head down	<i>kus'arpoq</i>
<i>kutjangavok</i> has the head bent down	<i>kus'ana'woq</i>
<i>itjuarpa</i> imitates him	<i>is'uarpa</i>
<i>itje</i> frost, cold	<i>is'e</i>
<i>katjukpok</i> hammers or beats on something	<i>kasup'oq</i>
<i>ketjiorpok</i> chops or hews wood	(?) <i>qis'iarpoq</i> is out in a boat to fetch driftwood
<i>kutjinek</i> the dry bed of a stream	<i>kus'ineq</i>
<i>itjivok</i> has got something in his eye	<i>is'ip'oq</i>

Labrador *ts*Greenland *s'* or *s*

<i>adsinga</i> his portrait	<i>as'ina</i>
<i>appertsuk</i> a question	<i>apersu't</i>
<i>ātsuk</i> I do not know, I do not think so	{ ? <i>a'sik</i> no, I will not do it <sup>1</sup> ? <i>asukiaq</i> perhaps, I do not know
<i>innātsuk</i> a young one	<i>in'u'sut'oq</i>
<i>kautsiovok</i> is wet	<i>qa'us'erp'oq</i>
<i>neitsarpok</i> is on the look-out on a hill	<i>nāsip'oq</i>

Labrador *ts*S. Greenland *ts* (N. Gr. *t'*)

<i>adsa</i> father's sister	<i>atsak</i>
<i>atsit</i> sleeves	<i>atsit</i> (plur. of <i>a'q</i> )
<i>ātsivok</i> he brings	<i>artsiv'oq</i>
<i>atsikpoq</i> it is down, is in the deep	<i>at'sip'oq</i>
<i>aulatsivok</i> puts it in motion	<i>a'wlätsiv'oq</i>
<i>ikkitsijut</i> a burning-glass	<i>ikitsisit</i> matches
<i>itsek</i> yolk of an egg	<i>itsik</i> white of an egg
<i>itset</i> tent-skins, skins that have been sewed together	<i>itsat</i>
<i>itsorpok</i> goes out to look around	<i>itsorp'oq</i>
<i>itsuarpok</i> looks in (or out) through a window, door etc.	<i>itsuarp'oq</i>

<sup>1</sup> Mostly used by children.



<i>katsungavok</i> he is lazy, negligent (in his work)	<i>katsorpoq</i>
<i>kippitserpa</i> is homesick, feels great longing	<i>kipit-sāp-oq</i>
<i>kōtsikpok</i> is high, is situated high	<i>qut-sip-oq</i>
<i>kutsok</i> resin, colophony	<i>kutsuk</i>
<i>minnitjsivok</i> leaves him out in distributing (food etc.)	<i>minitsiwoq</i>
<i>okutsek</i> this place (which is pointed at)	<i>ukutseq</i>
- <i>titsivok</i> (verbal intransitive suffix)	- <i>titsiwoq</i>
- <i>tsiak</i> (adjectival suffix) tolerably big or little, of moderate size	- <i>tsiaq</i>

Labrador *pj, vj*

<i>tipjarluk</i> (B.) drift timber etc.
<i>kipjaut</i> a pair of scissors
<i>kavjek</i> a whirl
<i>ivjovok</i> it is thick

Greenland *ws*

<i>ti<sup>ws</sup>·arluk</i>
<i>ki<sup>ws</sup>·arpa</i> he cuts his hair
<i>ka<sup>w</sup>seq</i>
<i>i<sup>ws</sup>·uwoq</i>

Labrador *kj, gj*

<i>nakjuk</i> a horn
<i>sigjak</i> strand, coast
<i>ugjuk</i> seal ( <i>phoca barbata</i> )
<i>kogjuk</i> a swan
<i>tugjut</i> a stretcher <sup>1</sup>
<i>koakjuk</i> a sharp edge

Greenland *ς*

<i>naςuk</i>
<i>siςaq</i>
<i>uςuk</i>
<i>quςuk</i>
<i>tuςut</i>
<i>quaςuk</i>

Labrador *rj, rg*

<i>morjuppok</i> sinks down deep (in snow etc.)
<i>kargjoq</i> an arrow
<i>nergjut</i> a large land-animal (bear etc.)
<i>ergerpok</i> becomes visible, can be seen

Greenland *rs*

<i>morsup-oq</i>
<i>qarsoq</i>
<i>nersut</i>
<i>erserpoq</i>

<sup>1</sup> a stretcher with which the skin covering is tightened when it is being put on the boat.

Labrador *gg* [*χ*]

*aggak* a finger  
*iggak* snow-spectacles  
*kiggerpok* jumps  
*akigek* a ptarmigan

Greenland *ς*

*aςaq*  
*iςa'ik*  
*qiς'erpoq*  
*aqiς'eq*

Labrador *gw*

*nagvāk* a find, something which  
 is found

Greenland *<sup>w</sup>ς*

*nā<sup>w</sup>ς'a'q*

N Alaska *tj, dj*Labr. *ts, t'*N Gr. *t'*S Gr. *ts*

[*tj*] *nutye* hair of the head

*nutset*

[*t'*] *nut'ät*

[*ts*] *nutsät*

*netye* ringed seal

*netsek*

*nät'eq*

*nät'seq*

*utyu* vulva

*utsuk*

*utruq*

*utsuk*

*i'gutyä* humble hee

*igupsak*

*iñut'aq*

*igutsak*

*naityuä* short

*naitok*

*na't'oq*

*na'tsoq*

*kaini'tyuä* near

*kannitok*

*qanit'oq*

*qanit'oq \*-tsoq*

*aki'tyuä* soft

*akkitok*

*aqit'oq*

*aqitsoq*

*audlaniäñi'tyüñä* I shall  
 not go

*a<sup>w</sup>λ'arniäñ-it'oña*

*-tsoña*

*awäñar'itye* (plur.) go away *-itse*

*-it'e*

*-itse*

[*dj*] *púdjutin* claw of a crab *putsutit*

[*s*] *pus'uqutit*

SW Alaska *dj*Labr. *ts, s*N Gr. *t', s*S Gr. *ts, s*

*id-ji'vak* some time ago

*itsak*

*it'ak*

*itsak*

*ka-djich'tuk* to rest, to  
 be idle

*katsungavok?*  
 he is idle

{ *kat'orpoq* or *katsorpoq* or  
*qat'orpoq*, cf. *qatsorpoq*, cf.  
*qasuwoq* he is tired  
*qasuwoq*

*nād'jak* a cap, hat

*nessak* pl. -set

*näs'aq*,  
 plur. *n'ät'ät*

*näs'aq*, plur. *n'ätsät*

[*ts*] *nut-shuch'lugu* to pull  
 out

*nutsukpait*  
 he pulls them

*nutsuk'ugo*

*kad'jek* spittle, spit

*qiseq*

[*ts*] *kcher'töä* I spit

*kesserpoq* he spits

[*s*] *qiserpoq*

Mackenzie <i>dj</i> (Petitot)	Labrador <i>ts, dj</i>	W Gr. <i>s</i>
<i>nudjiapk</i> écheveau,	} <i>nutset</i>	<i>nut'üt, nutsät</i>
plur. <i>nudjiat</i> , cf. <i>nyapk</i> ,		
plur. <i>nutçat</i>		
<i>tamadja</i> vraiment	<i>tamadja</i> (Bourquin § 192)	<i>tamas'a</i>
<i>mudjia</i> ceci		<i>mas'a</i>
<i>nagdjiuk</i> (p. VII) or	} <i>nakjuk</i>	<i>naç'uk</i>
<i>nakdjiuk</i> corne		
<i>adjipapk</i> (p. XLIX) or	} <i>aggak</i>	<i>aç'ak</i>
<i>adgipapk</i> main		
[tç] <i>nekpetchidjoapk</i> faire		<i>nerisis'o-</i>
manger		

The explanation of the distinction which has been drawn between the three kinds of *s* in Greenland (point-*s*, mid-*s*, blade-*s*, cf. § 9) is probably to be found in the different origins of the sound. But the matter is not altogether clear to me; among other puzzling points is the fact that the sounds in Greenlandic seem to pass over into each other, and this is the reason why I have not as a rule assigned them separate symbols in my spelling. Closer empirical investigations may perhaps throw light upon this sound and its conditions in the two dialects. The relation between *j* and *s* is the same as that between any voiced sound and an unvoiced sound, as, for instance, between *g* and *χ*, or between *v* and *f*. Yet in the group *tj* in the Labrador language, I think the *j* must be unvoiced and accordingly the whole sound-group very nearly related to [š], cf. the description of *j* in Bourquin, Gr. § 8. So where this sound-group (*tj*) is given, it is not necessary to presume that the transition from *j* to *s* has taken place through the medium of a voiced *s* [z], which, however, is probable for that series of cases where only *j* is given. — Now it is not in all cases by far that Greenlandic has got *s* where the Labrador language has *j*. Both languages have *j* in words like:

*qujawaq* thanks, *ujamik* necklace, *ujapoq* stretches up over

something, sticks out, *ujarak* a stone, *tajaq* bracelet, wristlet, *tarajoq* (L. *tarijok*) salt, salt water, *pujoq* smoke, steam, *na<sup>u</sup>ja* a gull, *nāja* (L. *najanga*) his (younger) sister, *qajaq* kayak, etc.

Bourquin (Gr. § 8) seems to assume that in the Labrador language too *s* is the original sound in the words first cited and that the development goes in the direction of a change from *s* to *j*. It is possible that a tendency toward analogy has caused the *j* to spread in the Labrador language, but on the whole it becomes evident on considering more distant western dialects that *j* is the original and *s* the secondary sound in the words in question. — That *s* has the same phonetical value in numerous words in the two languages on both sides of Davis Strait it is not necessary for me to prove by examples.

[*k—q*] The Labrador language has *q* throughout in all the same words where this sound is found in Greenlandic (cf. Bourquin Gr. § 13 and § 579). Yet Labrador has *qikkertaq* (island) as over against Greenlandic *qeqertaq*. Labrador *korroq* (valley) agrees with North Greenlandic, where South Greenlandic has *qor-roq*. Elderly people may, however, according to Bourquin, be heard to use *q* instead of *k* in these words. — But otherwise, as has been said, the Labrador language fully agrees with Greenlandic as far as the sounds *q* and *k* are concerned.

Quite isolated stands the following case:

[*k—χ*] L. *aūkak*, no — farther north (in Labrador?) *naūkak*  
— Up Gr. *na<sup>k</sup>a* — MGr. and SGr. *na<sup>χ</sup>a*.

[*rŋ*] occurs in many words; with respect to the occurrence of this sound in Greenlandic, I used to consider it especially North Greenlandic as over against South Greenlandic *ru*, until I found that Egede in his dictionary gives some forms with *rŋg* as NGr. and others as SGr. — Ex.:

L. *tōrngak* the angakok's assistant spirit — SGr. *tor<sup>n</sup>uaq* —

NGr. *tor<sup>n</sup>gak* (Egede)

L. *akkorngæenne* between — Gr. *akornāwe*

- L. *perngák* one who does something for the first time — Gr. *pernaq*,  
*perṇaq*  
 L. *arngoak* an amulet — Gr. *arnuaq* — SGr. *arngvoak* (Egede)  
 L. *uerngarpok* is sleepy — Gr. *u'ernarpoq* — SGr. *uérngarpok*  
 (Egede)

The vowels agree on the whole in the two dialects. The Labrador language, like the Greenlandic, has in many words the combination *uj*. But in some cases Greenlandic [*uj*] and [*üj*] corresponds to Labrador [*iv*], a characteristic phonetical interchange of the consonantal and vocalic articulations, which Kleinschmidt has already called attention to (Gr. § 7).

L.	NGr.	SGr.	NW Al.
<i>ivalo</i> a sinew	<i>ujalo</i>		<i>ewal'oo, eya'lo</i>
<i>ivajárpâ</i> he steals it	<i>ujajarpa</i>		
<i>sivapa</i> he roasts it	<i>siap'a</i>	<i>sujap'a</i>	
<i>sivanerpok</i> it sounds, rings	<i>sijánerpoq</i>	<i>sujánerpoq</i>	
<i>sivo</i> the front part, prow	<i>sijo</i>	<i>sujo</i>	<i>she'wa</i>
(cf. SW Al. <i>sivã'tōä</i> I emerge from the woods etc.)			

The Greenlandic forms with *su-* I know chiefly from Kleinschmidt and literary Greenlanders; in North Greenland, I heard as a rule the forms with *sij-*. But my investigation of this sound-formation is not finished. A comparison between the Greenlandic and Labrador forms might lead us to suppose that the *w*- and *j*-sounds in these words are merely secondary sounds or glides which have originated later in the hiatic stems.

Interchange of *i* and *u*, *i* and *a*, takes place in the following examples:

[i—u]	L. <i>issivsukpok</i> whispers	— Gr. <i>isuvsuproq</i>
[i—a]	L. <i>tarijok</i> salt	— Gr. <i>tarajoq</i>
[a—i]	L. <i>ikajorpa</i> he helps him	— Gr. <i>ikiiorpa</i>

It will be seen that most of these differentiations in sound occur in the stem-words of the everyday language; of course





I take *dj* to be unvoiced (*tš* or something like that) similarly to the Labrador *tj*, *kj*, *pj*.

In the second place, there are many nouns in the Baffin language, in which the final *q*, *k*, *t* are nasalized, so that these words always — or almost always — end in *ŋ*, *ŋ* or *n*. This is known only as an occasional phenomenon in West Greenlandic and in the Labrador dialect. In addition to the above examples, I shall give the following:

Bf. <i>kapun</i>	—	Gr. <i>kapu't</i>	lance
" <i>ipun</i>	—	" <i>iput</i>	"
" <i>angun</i>	—	" <i>aŋu't</i>	oar used in the umiak in EGr. and B., but in WGr. a loose oar to steer or back water with
" <i>inung</i>	—	Gr. <i>inuk</i>	human being
" <i>saving</i>	—	" <i>sawik</i>	knife; iron
" <i>telirbing</i>	—	" <i>talerpik</i>	B. the handle on a harpoon-line. Gr. the right hand or arm
" <i>itirbing</i>	—	" <i>-fik</i>	B. the beam from the hole to the stern in a kajak (Gr. <i>iserfik</i> ?)
" <i>nigirn[-ŋ?]</i>	—	" <i>nigeq</i>	southeast wind
" <i>agsardnirn</i>	—	" <i>ars-arn'eq</i>	land breeze
" <i>gudlirn</i>	—	" <i>qul'eq</i>	a lamp

B. *inung maqong tikitong aipa mirqosailing aipa kapiteling*

Gr. *inu'k marluk tikituk a'pa merqosalik a'pa kapitalik*

Translation: Two men are coming, one with a double jacket (Gr. a woolen jacket), the other with a foxskin jacket (Gr. kajak jacket).  
Boas, C. Esk. p. 621.

In addition to these forms there also seem to occur forms ending in the unnasalized stopped consonants:

Bf. *armgoaq* — Gr. *arnuaq* an amulet

Bf. *aqaq* no; *aqaqpoq* says no — EG. *e'qe* no

So it is difficult to decide in how great a degree this feature characterizes the dialect, if it is due to an old tradition

and is constant in the words, or if it is merely in an embryo state. The present Labrador and Greenlandic dialects do not seem to have adopted it to so great an extent as the Baffin dialect. The same usage appears to be especially prevalent in the northwestern corner of Greenland (Smith Sound). — The first feature (*dj*, *tj*) binds the Baffin language to the Labrador language and separates it from the Greenlandic language\*).

Other differences:

[ <i>w—g</i> ]	Bf. <i>oqautiva</i>	—	Gr. <i>oqautiga</i>	he tells it (to him), mentions it
[ <i>t—l</i> ]	" <i>ingertune</i>	—	" <i>iwηerlune</i>	he singing
	" <i>majoartune</i>	—	" <i>majuarlune</i>	he coming (going) up
[ <i>q—rλ</i> ]	" <i>maqong</i>	—	" <i>marluk</i>	two

Still more dialectal differences would perhaps be detected on closer acquaintance with the Baffin dialect. But all in all the difference between the two languages on the opposite sides of the water does not seem to be much greater than the differences between several of the dialects within the coasts of Greenland itself.

With respect to the language in the northern part of Baffin Land, and around the Gulf of Boothia, Fox Basin, Hudson Bay\*\*) or the sounds around King William Island, in

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\*) A Greenlandic school-master who had an opportunity in 1889 to talk with some Eskimo from Baffin Land, who had come over to Greenland with an English ship (*Perseverance*), writes thus about their language in the Greenlandic periodical: "When I heard them speak, I did not understand a single word at first; I could hear that they spoke with a high voice and it sounded well; one of them said something to me, but what I did not understand of it was more than what I understood. Since they stayed here long, I gradually became accustomed to their language and began to be able to speak with them about various subjects. The reason why one cannot understand them at first is that they pronounce *s* almost like *j* and do not make it distinct." *Atuagadliutit* 1890, No. 1, p. 2—3.

\*\*) W. H. Dall's specimens of the language of two Eskimos from Repulse Bay, whom Capt. Hall had brought with him to Washington 1869, are too uncritical to be of any value here.

other words, about the language of the western Central Eskimo, the information is too scanty for us to draw any conclusions about the peculiarities of these dialects.

With regard to the Eskimo at Smith Sound, Dr. Boas is of the opinion that they occupy an intermediate position. He is inclined to consider their arts similar to those of the Central Eskimo, while their language seems to be nearer to that of Greenland\*). Very little is known about their language. The geologist R. Stein, who had an opportunity to hear it on his expedition up there, has given us some information about the phonetical character of this dialect, information which testifies to better phonetical insight than is usually met with in arctic explorers\*\*). That is why it makes the more impression on me, when he maintains that the dialect, in addition to the usual unvoiced *s*-sound, has a voiced *s* [*z*] as in German "reisen". He gives several examples of it: *tasiuza* resembling a lake, *qabluzen* resembling eyebrows (plur.), *uyazuhsu* (cf. Gr. *ujaraq* a stone), *iqazzhsoa* "Meerenge", etc., all place-names, whose meaning, however, can be partly understood. This voiced *z*, then, is probably the middle stage on the transition from the *j* of the Labrador language to the West Greenlandic unvoiced *s*.

Just as in the Baffin language, the final consonants in the Smith Sound language are generally nasal; the words end in *ŋ*, *ŋ* and *n* instead of *q*, *k* and *t*. It is probably an *ŋ* that Stein describes when he speaks of a nasalized "Kehllaut" in the name which he first wrote *Imn'arrene* but corrected, after he had heard it oftener, to *Imn'arnganeng* (with the same sound in the final position as in the body of the word). I presume that the sound in question is the same uvular nasal (*ŋ*) as I heard in the two northernmost districts in West Greenland

\*) Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay, p. 355.

\*\*) Cf. Introduction III, 1, Nr. 25—26.



(*Oommannaq* and *Upernawik*), though there it occurred only in the middle of words not in the final position. About *dl* [*λ*], Stein says that in rapid pronunciation this often becomes a *d* or *l*, a feature which reminds us of the Baffin language, East Greenlandic and the *kutät-ut* of the Upernawik dialect. — About *p* in words like *ipsuiso*, he remarks that it is pronounced with aspiration ("mit einem Hauch") like Greek *φ*; it is probably more nearly a fricative than a stopped consonant. — [*q*] seems to occur; instead of *ρ*, *q* seems to be used e. g. in the numeral for two: [*maqon*], as in the Baffin language, cf. Labrador *magguk* [*map'uk*]. Taken all in all, there is reason to suppose that the language of the Smith Sound Eskimo is just as near to the language of the Central Eskimo in Baffin Land as to the dialects of *Upernawik* and *Ammassalik* (or perhaps even a little nearer).

The next station toward the west, from which we have copious information about the language, is the district around the mouth of the Mackenzie River (about 135° W. Long.) in the North West Territory of Canada. In this place, the Eskimo population seems to be relatively large. The French missionary Petitot has written a monograph about them, and in the introduction to his large *Vocabulaire Français-Esquimau*, he has described their language and grammar\*).

Petitot's *ρk* and *ρkρ* I think must stand for [*q*]; his *ρ* (without the addition of *k*) corresponds to Greenlandic and

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\*) Especially in the years 1865—1870, Petitot made many excursions among them from the places where he was staying among the Tinné Indians farther south. Although he had not studied any Eskimo books beforehand, yet he succeeded in becoming so familiar with the language that he could understand a great part of it and write competently about it. Still, to be sure, there is no lack of naiveté and misunderstanding in his work; but it is original, and, what is more, the word-forms which he has reproduced generally make the impression of having been well heard.



Labrador [*r*], sometimes also to [*g*]; his *g* is [*g*]; his *l*, [*l*] and [*λ*]; his *y*, [*j*]; his *dj* and *tɕ*, [*dj*] and [*tɕ*] or perhaps [*ɕ*]; he does not seem to have heard any *s* in the language which exactly resembled his own French *s*, which seems to me to be very plausible. I think I can draw up the following consonant system for this dialect.

	uvula	back	blade	point	lip	
nasal stop		<i>ŋ</i>		<i>n</i>	<i>m</i>	voiced
oral stop	<i>q</i>	<i>k</i>		<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	voiceless
open	<i>r</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>j dj?</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>w</i>	voiced
open	<i>ρ?</i>		<i>ɕ? tɕ</i>	<i>λ</i>		voiceless

There is the interesting circumstance connected with Petitot's work, that the wellknown French linguist V. Henry has used it as the basis for a sketch of the Innuk language, in which he tries to bring the material in under more scientific points of view than Petitot was able to. It is not my object here to deal with the morphological part of this description in which there are many pertinent remarks of interest not only for the student of the Eskimo language but also for the student of general comparative philology. Here, where only the sounds of the language are under consideration, it will be necessary not only to call attention to the good points of this work, but also to some of the errors into which the author has been misled through the lack of clearness in his source.

In V. Henry's system of sounds, there are, in part expressed by other symbols, equivalents for all the sounds which I have tabulated, with the exception of *λ*. He specifies, to be sure, two kinds of *l*, of which the one is the usual "dental" *l*; but about the other (*lh*) he remarks that it is a palatal and voiced *l*, corresponding to the mid-tongue *l* of the Slavic languages

"l barré des Polonais"). This is surely due to a misunderstanding of Petitot's attempt to describe the Eskimo aspirated  $\lambda$ , which is a point consonant. — It is still more unfortunate that Henry seems to have misunderstood the meaning of  $\rho k$ . It is true that he uses the symbol  $h$  in his system for a "gutturale sourde" along side of  $\chi$  as the symbol for a "gutturale sonore" \*), both sounds being "spirantes continues". The first of these two labels might very well be applied to my uvular  $[\rho]$ ; the second sound I do not know from Greenlandic. Perhaps  $[\rho]$  does really occur in this dialect, though rarely, for instance in the word which Petitot writes *kappané* (on the top), cf. Gr. [*kap·ane*] (on or by the promontory). But then what becomes of the sound  $[q]$  in Henry's system? If  $h$  has the signification of  $[\rho]$  and  $[\chi]$  of  $[g]$ , there is no symbol in his system which can correspond to  $[q]$ . He seems to have misunderstood the meaning of Petitot's  $\rho k$  and  $\rho k \rho$ , taking them to be combinations of two or three sounds.  $k$  and  $r$  (in Petitot  $\rho$ ) both stand in the same line in his system as "gutturales", the first a "sourde momentanée", the second a "sonore vibrante continue". But this surely does not mean that  $k$  in Henry's system stands for the uvular  $[q]$ ; if that were the case, the usual back- $k$  would entirely lack a separate symbol in the system. About the  $r$  in the system, he says: "Cet  $r$  n'est autre chose qu'une variation dialectale, un simple renforcement que l'idiome des Tchiglit fait subir à un  $k$  primitif". As a conclusive reason for this is mentioned the fact that in other dialects  $kr$  is found as simple  $k$ , for instance M. *kpolépk* = Gr. *kotluk* = Labr. *kullek* (a lamp). Hence the whole mistake; for the Gr. and L. orthography here expresses exactly the same thing as the M. orthography (Petitot), but Henry did not know that in all old works (also often in new works) the symbol  $k$  is used at random now for  $[k]$  and now for  $[q]$ ; the

\*) Henry, u. s. p. 6. He compares these two sounds with the Arabic sounds *ghain* and *'ain*, but I am not sure that he is right. His  $r$  he compares with Arabic *rhayn*.

word is in Greenlandic [*q'uλ'eq*]. Petitot's *ρkp* is a dilettante roundabout indication of the simple stopped consonant and cannot be mistaken by any one who is familiar with Eskimo pronunciation. This sound is not a special dialectal phenomenon, but the most characteristic consonant of the whole Eskimo language.

Henry gives in his system, in agreement with Petitot, the three voiced stopped consonants *g d b*. I do not believe that these sounds occur; it is more probable that the case is the same as in Greenlandic, namely that there are two kinds of unvoiced, unnasalized stopped consonants, one kind that is strongly aspirated and another kind that is only slightly aspirated. — He is surely right when he mentions an unvoiced palatal *č*, and he is possibly right when he mentions a voiced palatal *ǵ*; they must be compared with the *tj* of the Labrador dialect and the *dj* of the Baffin dialect.

Petitot writes *kivgapk*, where S. Gr. has *ki<sup>w</sup>φaq* (a servant); I presume the M. form is to be understood as [*kivgaq*] with voiced fricatives. The same conditions apply to words like M. *killigvapk* (elephant fossile) = Gr. *kiliφaq* ("the big cutter", a fabulous monster with six or ten legs, cf. Rink\*), M. *apvepκ* or *apvapk* = Gr. *arφeq* (a whale) etc.; here the M. dialect has a voiced fricative *w* as against unvoiced *φ* or *p* in Greenland. Thus it seems as if the voiced fricatives play a more important part in the dialect of the Tchiglites than in Greenlandic. M. *qw rw* correspond to Gr. [*φ rφ*]. — [*χ*] does probably not occur. That short [*g*] occurs seems to be certain from such a word as M. *niyepκ* (vent de l'est et du nord-est), which certainly must correspond to S Gr. *nigeq* (south wind), Up Gr. *niηeq*. It is worth noticing that Petitot in some cases seems to have used the symbol *ρ* (with which he otherwise generally indicates the uvular [*r*]) to indicate *g*. At all events it often

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\*) Tales and Trad. p. 48. — Eventyr og Sagn. Suppl. p. 190.

occurs in words where I should expect from Greenlandic to find this sound, for instance: M. *uvaput* = S Gr. *uvagut* (we); M. *kīput* = S Gr. *kīgut* (tooth); M. *-maṗit* = S Gr. *-magit* (verbal suffix) etc. — For the nasal consonants, Petitot has the usual symbols; I find no suggestion of a [ŋ].

The final consonant in the words is generally *q*, *k*, *t* or *p*; only in connected discourse do *ŋ*, *n* or *m* occur between two vowels.

Just like the Labrador Eskimo, the Mackenzie Eskimo also uses *j* in a large number of those words where the Greenlanders pronounce *s*. As examples I may give:

[j—s]	M. <i>mikiyopk</i> little	—	Gr. <i>mikisoq</i>
	„ <i>nakyopk</i> good; strong	—	„ <i>nakv'soq</i>
	„ <i>añiyopk</i> large	—	„ <i>añisoq</i>
	„ <i>iyik</i> , plur. <i>iyit</i> eye, eyes	—	„ <i>ise(q)</i> , <i>isit</i>
	„ <i>kṛéyuk</i> kindling wood	—	„ <i>qisuk</i>

It is especially striking to meet with initial *tç* everywhere here where Greenlandic has simple *s*. Ex.:

[tç—s]	M. <i>tçikpeyneṗk</i> the sun	—	Gr. <i>seqineq</i>
	„ <i>tçiuṇ</i> ear	—	„ <i>siut</i>
	„ <i>tçivikitopk</i> not lasting long; quick	—	„ <i>sivikit'oq</i>
	„ <i>tçuna</i> what	—	„ <i>sunā</i>
	„ <i>tçule</i> yet	—	„ <i>sule</i>
	„ <i>tçaoneṗk</i> bone	—	„ <i>sa'wneq</i>
	„ <i>tçitamāt</i> four	—	„ <i>sisamat</i>

etc. in most cases in the beginning of words. But also in the middle of words:

[tç—s]	M. <i>atavtçipk</i> }	} one	—	Gr. <i>ata<sup>w</sup>seq</i>
	C. <i>atayak</i> }			
	„ <i>piñatçut</i> three		—	„ <i>piñasut</i>
	M. <i>neqetchidjoapk</i> let someone eat,		—	„ <i>nerisis'o</i>
	give him something to eat			
	„ <i>tutçayopk</i> I hear something, hush!		—	„ <i>tusa'soq</i>



M. <i>illiptçi</i> you	—	Gr. <i>ili<sup>ws</sup>e</i>
» <i>kitçime</i> alone	—	» <i>kisime</i>
» <i>itçimayoa<sub>pk</sub></i> to sit, to be located or settled	—	» <i>is<sup>i</sup>iamasog</i>
» <i>ap<sub>k</sub>putçine<sub>pk</sub></i> path	—	» <i>a<sup>w</sup>q<sub>s</sub>ineq</i>
[ <i>tj</i> — <i>ts</i> ] » <i>nudjiät</i> hair of the head	—	S Gr. <i>nutsät</i>

How is *tç* to be taken? V. Henry takes it everywhere to be a "palatal" *s* [ç] or, as I should designate it, [š]; from Greenlandic, too, I know a palatal (postpalatalized?) *s*, the sound which I write [ç]. But I am inclined to think that Petitot in reality has heard a sound-combination, a *tš* or something like that with palatal *t* + *š* (or ç), for in the more western regions too we often find words in which these consonants occur together (initial *tsh*, *tsch*, also *ch*, cf. Barnum Inn. Lang. pag. 2). But now the sound *dj* as for instance in *nudjiät*? I should have taken it to be a corresponding voiced *dž*, if Petitot had not separated the two letters *dj* from the following *a* by an *i*; this *i* is written purposely to prevent *dj* from being pronounced simply like *dž*; if the *d* is produced in the same way as *t* in Greenlandic, it is almost interdental, and here perhaps palatalized too; then the following *ji* is more apt to be the voiced front fricative [j] than the blade-point consonant [ž].

If we now collect the characteristic features of the dialects of Mackenzie, Labrador and Greenland, the Labrador dialect seems to stand between the other two with respect to the sound-system, but yet it resembles South Greenlandic and Middle Greenlandic most, especially if the unvoiced bilabial [p] should prove to occur in Labrador; the occurrence of the other three aspirated fricatives is certain at any rate. But the Labrador dialect has also some phonetical features which remove it from South Greenlandic and draw it over toward the Mackenzie dialect, especially the occurrence of *j*, where Greenlandic has [s], and of *tj*, where the Greenlandic sound has branched into Middle Greenlandic *t*, South Greenlandic *ts*, and,



at least in some few cases, of *uq*, where South Greenlandic has *q̃*; likewise the frequent occurrence of the sound-group *iw*, where Greenlandic has *ij* or *üj*. Among the differences which set a sharp division between the Mackenzie and Labrador dialects the occurrence of initial *tš* (*tʂ*) in the Mackenzie dialect, where Labrador, just like Greenlandic, has merely *s*, is of especial importance; besides it is pretty sure that the Mackenzie dialect lacks [*χ*], which occurs in Labrador (Up. Gr. has *k* here). More peculiarities will be seen later, which connect the Labrador dialect more closely with Greenlandic. — With respect to the *s*-sounds, Up Gr. stands on the same side as Middle Greenland and S Gr., even if it otherwise stands apart from them; the Baffin dialect has *j* (*dj*) here instead of *s*; with regard to the remaining fricatives, Up. Gr. stands isolated, or it may possibly approach the dialect of the Central Eskimo, which is little known. — Several other differences and agreements between all these dialects may be suspected but they are not yet sufficiently clear.

Now we come to Alaska. All authors agree that there are a large number of different dialects along the coasts of this large peninsula, especially along the western and southern coasts. The material which is to be had for a comparison of these dialects is perhaps rather abundant compared with what we have for large portions of the Central Eskimo, but yet when we come to use it for exact investigation, we find it very fragmentary and difficult to unravel. The idioms are presumably interwoven here as they are in the districts farther east, so that we must make a qualitative choice of phonetical criteria to be used in determining the dialectal boundaries.

The northernmost point on the coast of Alaska is Point Barrow (156° W. long., 71° N. lat.). Between this place and the Mackenzie River, there is a large extent of territory which is inhabited probably only by a few Eskimo, about whose language nothing is known. A copious list of words from the

Point Barrow Eskimo has been given by Ray in the report of the international polar expedition to this place in 1885. As in many of the later American works containing specimens of the native languages of the new world, the words in this list are spelled in accordance with the standard alphabet recommended by the Bureau of American Ethnology (Smithsonian Institution) for use in recording Indian languages\*).

Ray employs the symbol *q*, as for instance in *pe'qsu* (drifting snow) to designate the uvular fricative [*r*], cf. Gr. *perso-*. The uvular stopped consonant [*q*] is not indicated in any other way but by the usual *k* — for I cannot believe that this sound does not occur in this dialect; the *k*-symbol undoubtedly covers both this sound and the usual back stopped consonant\*\*). Therefore I think I am justified in reading it in such words as N. Al. *kákogo* (when, in the future), *káblun* (eyebrow) and perhaps also in *úksuk* (fat), which in form almost, in meaning, quite correspond to Gr. *qagugo*, *qávλo* (plur. -ut), *orsoq*, and on the whole in all the many words where it is to be expected in accordance with the Greenlandic and the Mackenzie dialects. He seems to use the symbol *û* partly to indicate an indistinct *a*, which is sometimes a short uvularized *a*, partly in all pro-

\*) This alphabet is unfortunately rather deficient as a means of designating the sounds of the Eskimo language. It lacks special symbols for three of the unvoiced fricatives, namely for [*ρ λ φ*]. Its symbol *q* has to represent two different sounds, namely the two consonants in German *ich* and *ach*; my [*χ*], lies between both these sounds. There is no symbol for the corresponding voiced back fricative (*γ*). Nor is there any symbol for the uvular stopped consonant [*q*] in my work; the symbol *x* indicates the Arabic ghain, which is the voiced(?) uvular [*ɣ*]; the symbol *r* is used both for the English (point) *r* and the French (back) *r*. *û* indicates the vowel in English *but*; there are no special symbols for [*ø*] and [*ö*] and other vowel-shades.

\*\*) As was customary also in the Labrador and Greenlandic orthography all the way down to Kleinschmidt's time (about 1850). -- In Wells and Kelly's Vocabulary from NW. Alaska, there is the same ambiguity in the letter *k*, but here, however, the reader's attention is especially called to this double use of the letter ("*k* takes the place of *q*" p. 66)

bability also to indicate an uvularized *e*. There is no reason to doubt the occurrence of most of the sounds of the Greenlandic sound-system. The only difficulty is connected with those sounds which have shown a tendency to vary in the dialects previously examined, first and foremost the fricatives (the open consonants). With respect to the occurrence of voiced stopped consonants — they are always given as existing — I am rather inclined to believe that where they are given, they are only meant for unaspirated unvoiced stopped consonants ("unvoiced *b*, *d*, *g*"). — I consider it certain that Ray intended his symbol *x* to stand for the uvular [*r*] in examples like

NAl. <i>amáxo</i> wolf	—	Gr. <i>amarloq</i>
" <i>taxaio</i> salt	—	" <i>tarajoq</i>
" <i>áxlo</i> killer-whale	—	" <i>arluuk</i>

There might be some reason to suppose that when he uses this symbol in *noxá* (caribon, fawn), it here stands for the aspirated, that is unvoiced fricative [*ρ*], for Gr. has *noρ'aq*. If that is the case, we should expect the same conditions in the word that corresponds to Gr. *tuρ'aq* (a reflected image, a shadow-picture), but here Ray has NAl. *tága<sup>n</sup>*. Is this an orthographical whim, or is there really a difference of pronunciation? Somewhat similar is the case in NAl. *nûg'lug'ruã* (goose), which corresponds to Gr. *nerleq*, plur. *nerlerit*; we might have expected *x* instead of *g'*. — Does the unvoiced fricative [*χ*] occur? It is found in Greenlandic *tiχ'aq* (a be-seal); for this word, Ray has NAl. *tixgûñ* which I read as [*tirgaŋ*] or [*tirkæŋ*]. Neither is there any urgent reason to assume the *χ*-sound in NAl. *sigo* (beak or bill), which in Greenlandic has the form *siχ'uk*. For the present at least I shall assume that the sound is not found in this dialect. — The unvoiced fricative [*λ*] undoubtedly occurs, cf. NAl. *kódlö* (lamp) — Gr. *quleq*; NAl. *túd'liñ* (white billed loon) — Gr. *tu'λ'ik*. — The unvoiced fricative [*φ*] does not seem to occur. Ray writes NAl. *ák'bwûk* (whale), cf. Gr. *arφeq*; NAl. *séakbwûk* (sea-pigeon) — Gr. *serφaq*

(black guillemot). Cf. NAl. *aibwûk* (walrus) — Gr. *arweg*. I suppose *bw* is intended to indicate a loosely articulated bilabial somewhat similar to *w* — accordingly a voiced sound.

Thus on the whole the sound-system of this dialect agrees with the sound-system of its neighbor to the east, the Mackenzie dialect.

With respect to the forms of the words, those words in the Point Barrow dialect whose final sound is consonantal very often end in nasals, a feature which reminds us of the Baffin dialect. In the Mackenzie dialect, there is a blending of the two tendencies; many, perhaps most, words here end in *q* and *k*, just as in the L. and Gr. dialects, but final *n* always occurs in those words which in the other two dialects end in *t*. In the NAl. dialect we have *ujarûñ* [*ujarañ*] (stone), in Gr. *ujarak*; NAl. *imuñ* (milk) — Gr. *im'uk*; NAl. *tugáliñ* (narwhale), Gr. *tv'galik*; NAl. *kamotin* (sledge) — Gr. *qamutit*, etc. This peculiarity, however, does not appear in all the words ending in *k* and perhaps not in any of the words ending in *q*; we find for instance NAl. *imeak* or *imûk* (water) — Gr. *imeq* or *imaq*, NAl. *kumûk* (louse) — Gr. *kumak* etc.

It is striking how many words have been taken down from this dialect in the form of vowel stems (ending in a vowel), which in Greenlandic end in *q* or *k* in the nominative. As examples may serve such words as NAl. *k'áttû* (wooden trap-doorway) — Gr. *kat'ak*; NAl. *au* (blood) = M. *avk* — Gr. *avk*; NAl. *pau* (sod) — Gr. *pa<sup>w</sup>q*; NAl. *mûkqlûkto* (child) — Gr. *merlertoq*; NAl. *múttakto* (naked) — Gr. *mat'artog*, etc., thus all the words ending in *-to(q)*, accordingly all the adjectival participial forms. Several examples have already previously been given. This feature is so persistent that it is almost difficult to find examples of words in this dialect that end in the uvular which is so characteristic for the Greenlandic and Mackenzie dialects. And those cases which can be shown are only valid on the condition that the *k* of the orthography stands for [*q*]



in addition to the sound that it generally stands for in our languages.

At Point Barrow, the northern coast of America makes a curve toward the south in the direction of Bering Strait. There is much to indicate the appearance of new phonetical tendencies along these coasts.

As far as the northwestern part of Alaska is concerned (around Point Hope), I owe a good deal of my information to **Well's** and **Kelly's** *Collection of Words*. As for the southern part of the west coast two grammars are known to me: **A. Schultze's** "*Grammar and Vocabulary of the Eskimo Language*" etc. (1894) and **F. Barnum's** "*Grammatical fundamentals of the Innuitt Language as spoken by the Eskimo of the Western Coast of Alaska*" (1901). The latter, which also contains a vocabulary, deals especially with the Eskimo language that is spoken along the coasts of Norton Sound, the delta of the Yukon River and the mouth of Kuskokwim River, and it contains a good deal of interesting information about those dialects which may also serve to cast new light on the eastern dialects. But unfortunately the phonetical continuity with the eastern dialects is broken off just here at a couple of critical points, or rather I cannot see the continuity. This is due to the fact that in spite of the great number of symbols that he uses, the author does not succeed in giving the uninitiated a clear idea of the actual pronunciation of the language, simply because his description of the phonetical value of the symbols used is so imperfect. Such imperfection was of less significance when it was the nearer dialects that we had to deal with than it is in the case of this distant dialect. Although undoubtedly a pure Eskimo language, yet this Alaska dialect contains so many words of unknown or unrecognizable origin that it is often difficult to find certain parallel forms corresponding to Greenlandic words.



Barnum had a good opportunity to become thoroughly well acquainted with the language, having stayed among the natives eight years in the capacity of missionary. In publishing his large store of material, he has given much attention to distinguishing between the different speech-sounds, and he operates with no less than about 70 symbols for the consonants (including consonant groups) and 18 symbols for the vowels (and diphthongs). So one would expect that no essential shade of sound in the language had escaped his observation. Among the many consonants that he gives, there are 3 or 4 symbols intended to indicate "gutturals" (uvulars), not including, however, the symbol *k*, which is to be pronounced "as in English" or as in French quart. "This is the most-used letter in the language", he says. He calls his symbol *q* "the common guttural", and he uses it only before another consonant, as in SW Al. *ēmāq'pēk* (the sea) — Gr. *imarpik* (the real or the great sea); so his *q* corresponds to my [*r*]. I presume it is also the same sound that he indicates with an *r*; but he uses this symbol only after a consonant, as in SW Al. *katunrak* (son) — Gr. *qitornaq* (child), or between two vowels as in SW Al. *māri'yak* (mud), where *i* = [*aɪ*] — Gr. *mapaq*.

The sound [*q*], on the other hand, he indicates by means of a *k* that is supplied with a special diacritic mark (here ʁ); he speaks of it as "a strong rasping guttural", but he rarely uses it; he has it for instance in the word *kikʁtam* (p. 270) — Gr. *qegertap* (the island's), in the suffix SW Al. -ʁātōā (I have) — Gr. -qarpoṇa, e. g. SW Al. *ūchīng'ʁātōā* (I have a load) — Gr. *useqarpoṇa* etc.

It was at this point that I became puzzled and surprised, so much so that I had to give up. In investigating the dialects which I have previously taken up, I never felt any uncertainty because there was no special symbol for the uvular stopped consonant (tenuis); I was already so accustomed to the double use of the symbol *k* in the elder Greenlandic and in the Labra-

dor orthography. But here, in SW. Alaska, I am confronted with an orthographical system in which there are undoubtedly separate symbols for the uvular consonants, among others, for [q] the most characteristic and most used of the East Eskimo speech-sounds — and then how does it appear here? The symbol that is used to indicate it is, at all events, extremely rare. It never occurs as a final just as little as the symbol for [r]; in the final position we always find *k*, as in SW Al. *pūyōk* — Gr. *pujoq* (but SW Al. *pūyōqkāk*, “what will be smoke”, a term for gunpowder, where *q* = [r]? or *qk* = [q]?). I shall give some words that I have chosen at random:

SW Al.		W Gr.	SW Al.		W Gr.
<i>kīy'ak</i>	boat	<i>qajaq</i>	<i>akkizhzhigik</i>	ptarmigan	<i>aqiṣ'eq</i>
<i>kōln</i>	ten	<i>qulit</i>	<i>kāpūk</i>	foam	<i>qapuk</i>
<i>kavlut</i>	brow	<i>qa<sup>w</sup>ḵ'ut</i>	<i>tākāk</i>	vein	<i>taqaq</i>
<i>kēm'uqta</i>	dog	<i>qim'eq</i>	<i>tōkōnāk</i>	death	<i>toqo</i>
<i>kēn'aka</i>	my nose	<i>qin'ak'a</i>	<i>ā'tāk</i>	name	<i>ate'q</i>
<i>kēku</i>	clay	<i>qeqoq</i>	<i>kānīq'tōk</i>	it snows	<i>qān'erpoq</i>

If *k* is in none of these cases intended to indicate the uvular stopped consonant, then the Alaska language must certainly sound very different from Greenlandic. Furthermore this supposition would also lead me to assume that the NW. Alaskan and the N. Alaskan dialects, where also only the symbol *k* is used, likewise made only little use of the sound [q]. So if I had started on my investigation from the west instead of from the east, the Mackenzie dialect would be the first where this sound played an important part.

There is not the slightest indication in Barnum's work that *k* might have any other sound-value, than that which it has, for instance, in English. That the author, after having lived so many years where this language is spoken, should have been unable to distinguish between the sounds [k] and [q] is scarcely credible. Yet, for the present, I shall wait and see

if anything should happen to turn up later that may help to clear up the matter. If it should be established that this uvular sound is almost foreign to the South West Alaskan dialects, so that they, so to speak, rest on a different basis of articulation from that of the other Eskimo dialects, it will be conclusive for our construction of the phonetical development of the present Eskimo dialects.

§ 33. Assimilations in the East and in the West Eskimo dialects. Through that insight which our previous investigations have given us into the phonetical character of the different Eskimo dialects, we may now feel enabled to undertake a relatively reliable valuation of certain great but constant differences between them, which appear in the orthographical reproductions of the same words from different districts.

With Greenlandic as our starting-point, we first come to the following groups of marked differences between the Labrador dialect and Greenlandic (the brackets, as usual, enclosing my phonetical transcriptions, which, on comparison with the specimen words from the more distant dialects, will show what sound-values I assign to the orthographical symbols in the specimens):

Gr. L.

[rλ — rg] Gr. *in̄erlawoq* — L. *ingergavok* moves forward

Gr. *qimerlo·rpa·* — L. *kemmergova* regards it

[rλ — ρ] Gr. *marλuk* — L. *magguk* two (gg = [ρ], cf. Bourquin  
Gr. § 6, note)

Gr. *orλuwoq* — L. *ochovok* falls down

[rλ — χ] Gr. *arλa·* the other one — L. *agga* two

Gr. *narλuwoq* — L. *naggovok* is even

[wλ — gw] Gr. *quwλ'e* — L. *kugve* a tear

Gr. *iwλ'it* — L. *igvit* those

[λ' — gw] Gr. *quλ'arterpa'* — L. *kugvartipa* tucks up his trousers  
(so as to be able to wade)

Gr. *qāλ'eq* — L. *\*kagver-*

The last example is not quite certain, but it is probably in place here.

Greenlandic *qāλ'eq* means the topmost or outermost part of anything,  
thence Gr. *qāliuwoq*, is topmost or outermost, lies on top,  
*qāλ'erpa*, covers it up

Labr. *kagvirpok*, he has gone up on a mountain, or clouds have come up.  
*kagvirtipa*, he has covered it.

That these differences between the two dialects are deeply rooted in the language becomes evident on comparison with the West Eskimo forms of these words, in so far as they are preserved and written down:

Gr. *marλuk* — C. *malpok* — M. *māllepok* — N Al. *mādro* —  
SW Al. *mālrūk*

The N Al. form is remarkable, but may perhaps be explained by assuming that it is an awkward attempt to reproduce an indistinctly apprehended [λr], a sound-group which is very common farther south on the coast of Alaska. — Cf. the following form from the same place (Point Barrow):

N Al. *adrāni* anciently, which apparently is to be compared with L. *achāne* last year [*aφ'arne*], and which, to judge both by the form and the meaning, could be related to the already mentioned Gr. *arλa'* the other one of two or another of several, in the locativ *arλa'ne*.

Thus it appears from these forms that the West Eskimo words all agree in having λr instead of the rλ which is found in Greenlandic. The case is the same in the following words:

Gr.	Al.	
[rλ — λr]	Gr. <i>narλuwoq</i>	{ — SW Al. <i>nalth'kīqtok</i> it is straight
		{ — " <i>nālhōk'fāk</i> straight above
	" <i>arλa</i> the	— " <i>ālh'thrākū</i> next year
		other one (of two)

The orthography in these Alaska forms seems distinctly to indicate that we have to do with an unvoiced, aspirated [λ] before the uvular consonant.

Still another word where I find the same conditions [rλ — λr] is:

Gr. *amerλartut* many — SW Al. *amthlertūt* (Barnum § 798)

N Al. has *amadráktu* as before *madro*, and N Al. *amadránmūt* when there was plenty, corresponding to Gr. [*amerλ·ā-mūt*]. The word is not found in the Labrador language, at all events, not in the dictionary.

As for the other words, which contain a labial, I can give the following parallels:

[wλ — λw]	Gr. <i>i<sup>w</sup>λ·it</i> — M. <i>illuit</i> — N Al. <i>iluit</i> — NW Al. <i>il<sup>w</sup>we</i>
	SW Al. <i>łpit</i> or <i>ilch<sup>w</sup>pit</i> thou
[ws — sφ]	Gr. <i>i<sup>w</sup>s·aq</i> the other day — N Al. <i>isfa</i> — SW Al. <i>ēchē<sup>w</sup>hwak</i> [ <i>itšip<sup>w</sup>ak</i> ]? formerly.

Also Gr. *qul·arterpa* (lifts it up in the air; lays or hangs it higher up) seems to be connected with SW Al. *kulvara'ka* (I put it up high) and can have come of a form \**qu<sup>w</sup>λ-*. If this is the case, then it is also probable that the above mentioned word Gr. *qal·eq* — L. *kagver-* is to be connected with SW Al. *kāl-vāq'tākā* (I lower it), *kāl-vāg'yārāk* (the outer approach or entrance to a native house), *kāl-vāq'lōā* (I enter a house), so that the original form seems to have been \**qawleq*; but the meanings have become far removed from each other in the two dialects.

Hitherto I have taken up only such cases where Greenlandic and the Labrador dialect apparently have gone separate ways. In all of them, it has been a question of the existence or non-existence of an / (or s) in connection with an uvular or



a labial. On looking to the more distant dialects for some help in explaining the origin of these differences, I found that *l* was commonly found in these words everywhere except in the Labrador dialect; but the matter also proved to be more complicated than I had at first supposed. For the West Eskimo forms presented a new, third type, where those pairs of consonants that occur in the Greenlandic forms are found in the reverse order; and as against the Greenlandic homogeneous consonant-combinations (*rλ*, *wλ*, *λ'*), the Labrador dialect has heterogeneous assimilations.

To which division of the language is this last dialect to be assigned? Its [*ρ*] and [*χ*] (p. 229) may just as well have come of *rλ* as of *λν*. The question must be decided through such cases where the usual process of assimilation has not been carried out and where the original form has therefore not become obscured. As against the constant Greenlandic [*rλ*], there are, in all, three formations in the Labrador dialect [*rg*, *ρ'*, *χ*]. I feel convinced that these formations were originally quite similar and that they only indicate different stages of development. As long as nothing points to the contrary, I shall assume that the difference between them has developed within the Labrador dialect itself in this way: an original group consisting of *r* + a front consonant (presumably *h*), has first passed into *rg*; this has further become assimilated in some words, either directly, partly to *ρ*, partly to *χ*, or else in every case first to *ρ*, which has then been fronted in some few words and changed to *χ*. But the uvular was the first of the two consonants; the inversion has taken place; so in this particular, the Labrador dialect stands on the same side as Greenlandic.

On the other hand, in its treatment of the group labial + *l* (or another consonant), the Labrador dialect leans in the direction of the western dialects. The metathesis which has taken place in *wλ* etc. in Greenlandic does not appear to have occurred in Labrador. — Yet this bond is not nearly so strong

and broad as the bond which unites the Labrador language to Greenlandic. That is shown by the following examples, which are analogous with those previously mentioned (uvular + another consonant).

I shall give some examples of series of words where the two eastern dialects have gone the same way, so far as can be seen from existing forms common to both.

In the examples that I give first, both dialects have strongly assimilated forms, so that it cannot be seen directly if metathesis has taken place before the process of assimilation or not.

Gr.	L.	NAL.	Gr.	L.	NAL. (West Eskimo)
[ʃ — gʝ : ɡʱ — χʁ]		<i>usuk</i>		<i>uguk</i>	<i>úg'ru</i> bearded seal
		<i>isuk</i>		<i>ígsuk</i> semen virile	<i>i'ggru</i> testicles
		<i>qusuk</i>		<i>kogjuk</i>	<i>kúg'ru</i> swan
		<i>tamas'a</i>		<i>tamadsa</i>	<i>tamuz'ra</i> is here
		<i>na'q</i> , plur. <i>näs'ät</i>		<i>nakset</i>	<i>nazruk</i> (Kelly) abdomen

When we remember the previously cited Labrador forms with the group [ʀg] and its assimilation to [χ], we realize that it is possible that these last mentioned East Eskimo forms too may have contained an *r* (before *g*, *j* or *s*) and have had a common origin in a group where the usual metathesis is carried out. This will be confirmed later by some similar cases.

Even more distinctly do we see the nature of this East Eskimo bond of relationship in the following examples:

Gr. & L.      Al.

[ʀn, rŋ — nr, ŋr]

Gr.	L.	SW AL.
<i>gitornaq</i> child	<i>kittorngak</i> child	<i>katunra</i> (Barnum)* son
<i>orna</i> his armpit	( <i>unninga</i> )	<i>ān'kã</i> armpit

\*) The Eskimo of Port Clarence, Alaska: *gitungaq* (boy), cf. Boas in Journ. Amer. Folk-lore VII, p. 207.

Gr.	L.	SWAL.
<i>tor'naq</i> a spirit	<i>torngak</i>	<i>tung'ralik</i> sorcerer, one who has a <i>tungra</i>
<i>pin'it</i> straw in the boots	<i>perngit</i>	<i>pēnūq'kak</i> grass dried for use in native boots
<i>kiqorna</i> that which follows after something else, after that, since	<i>kingurnga</i>	<i>kīnggnunrīqtōrā kā</i> I go after him
<i>kiqornuprak'a</i> I have inherited them (things)	<i>kingormgutivaka</i>	<i>kīnggnunrīqtōrān kā</i> I go in search of those behind (i. e. lost ones)
<i>serniqar</i> protects him	<i>sernugivā</i>	<i>chīnggnūq'kā</i> I kiss him (embrace him)

In these words the consonant-metathesis has necessitated changes in the preceding vowel: when the two consonants change places, the uvular consonant finds itself immediately after the vowel, which then, according to the phonetical tendencies in Greenlandic, is uvularized. We observe two stages of vowel change:

<i>i</i> > <i>e</i> > <i>e</i>	Al. <i>nimra</i> — Gr. <i>nerma</i> (its) lashing
<i>u</i> > <i>o</i> > <i>o</i>	" <i>unra</i> — " <i>orna</i> (his) armpit
<i>a</i> > <i>a</i> > <i>a</i>	" <i>malruk</i> — " <i>marluk</i> two

Now it might be expected that this vowel-change could be used as a criterion of historical-linguistic value.

I shall try to show, however, that in certain series of words, metathesis may have taken place, whereby an *r* has penetrated into the first syllable, yet without any trace of it to be seen in the vowel, the *r*, on the contrary, having entirely disappeared and become assimilated with the neighboring consonant.

I think I am able to produce historical testimony from the oldest records of the Greenlandic and Baffin languages to prove that a metathesis of this kind has once taken place in two words, which in the present language at Davis Strait show no

trace of an original uvular. They are the words for eye and hand.

W Gr. [s'] *is'e* — L. [j'] *îje*  
 " [ç'] *aç'ak*, plur. *aç'a't* — " [χ'] *aggak*

These words are thus spelled by Paul Egede in his Greenlandic Dictionary from 1750: *irse* eye, and *arkseit*, hand, fingers.

In Frobisher's list of words from Meta incognita (Baffins Land), where he was in 1576, these words are found in the forms: *arered*, eye — *argoteyt*, hand (or rather: thine eye — thy hand).

This manner of spelling these words is scarcely accidental. Egede uses it in still more words; in all of them the case is the same: in Greenlandic and in the Labrador dialect, the uvular has now disappeared, but it is still found in the westernmost dialects.

Gr. *is'e* (1750 *irse*) eye — L. *îje* — M. *iyik* — NAl. *îdin* and *i'ddrûñ* — NWAl. *ite* view; *e'rit* eye; *e'gra* eye of a needle — SWAl. *iq'kǎ* my eye; *ē'kǎ* or *ēq'kǎ* my eyes — Sib. *e'ye* eye

Gr. *aç'ak*, plur. *aç'a't* (1750 *arkseit*) fingers — L. *aggak* M. *adjipapk* — NAl. *ádrigai* his hand — NWAl. *ahregit'e* — SWAl. *ǎttrilnōk* the ring-finger

In all the Alaska dialects, then, there are forms containing the uvular sound in the word-stem itself. It seems to me to be highly probable that in the old East Eskimo forms that have been preserved by Egede and Frobisher, we have a reminiscence of this sound, but with an indication that here in the east metathesis has taken place, while the original combination of the consonants is preserved in the westernmost districts.

The Mackenzie dialect is partly connected with the East Eskimo dialects, partly — and most closely — with the Alaska

dialects. I take the given form for the word "hand" in this dialect to be a reproduction of the sounds [udžirag], the NAl. form to be [atrigarɨ] or rather [atjrigarɨ]. A comparison of the Alaska forms for the word "eye" gives a basis \*itjr-, while beside this there must have been a shorter basis \*id- or \*it- for those western forms where there is no uvular at present. In the Mackenzie form with [j], and in the present eastern forms, every trace of the uvular has been lost.

In this connection it is interesting to turn back to the above mentioned little series of examples: Gr. *uṣ'uk*, L. *ugjuk*, NAl. *úg'ru*, etc. (p. 233). If the uvular in the words for eye and hand was at one time present in East Eskimo, why should it not also have been present at about the same time in the words of this series? Frobisher does not mention any of these words, but the forms which they had at that time may perhaps be reconstructed after the analogy of the two words that he has written down. His mode of spelling these words, to be sure, does not exactly agree with modern principles for phonetical spelling. If I had been along on Frobisher's expedition, I should perhaps rather have spelled the word that he records in the form *arered*, in this way \*erjret or erjit, and the word that he records as *argoteyt*, as \*[argotɨt]\*<sup>1</sup>. In the same dialect, then, the words under consideration have probably had the forms \*[urgu irgu kurgu], or perhaps with [rj] at a later stage. This consonant-group has then found itself in a very forced and unnatural position between two high vowels; the vowel-change has not taken place, or if it has taken place, it has only been temporary; the consonants have changed instead and have passed into [gj] in Labrador, into unvoiced [ç] in Greenland. Cf. also Gr. *ise* < *irse*, L. *cje* (or *ije*) < \*igje < \*irje.

<sup>1</sup> Present Baffin-dialect: *agou*, plur. *again* 'hand' and *apiqqit* 'your hand's', cf. F. Boas in *der Eskimo Dialect des Cumberland-Sundes* (Mittheil. Anthropol. Gesellsch. Wien, vol. XXIV, 1894).



A closer study of the dialects will probably lead to the discovery of more examples of these or similar sound-changes. I think I have produced enough of material to show that it is probable that at a certain point in the history of the Eskimo language, in certain words in the East Eskimo dialects, a characteristic metathesis has taken place, whereby an *r* (in Greenlandic also *w*) occurring in one of the last syllables in a word is drawn back toward the beginning of the word. In Greenlandic, this shifting has generally entailed a corresponding change in the vowel of the word-stem, if not immediately, at least in the course of time; the only exceptions are those cases where the *r*- or *w*-sound has been absorbed in assimilation with the neighboring consonant. In the Labrador forms, there are distinct traces of the same metathesis, even if the traces are not quite so well preserved here. To sum up the results, we may say that although the Greenlandic and Labrador dialects in their present shapes completely agree only in a certain number of cases, while in the remaining cases, each one has its own characteristic groups, yet these two dialects are decidedly on the same side as against the type which we find in the extreme west in the corresponding words.

I have no doubt as to which of these three types (*malruk* — *mapruk* — *marluk*) is the oldest. It is in the west that we find these words in their original forms. The basis for the three types is a form that ends in, or contains two consonants of which the first is some other consonant than *r* (or *w*), while the second is a sound related to *r* (or *w*). After the two chief branches of the original Eskimo language had separated from each other, the Greenlandic and Labrador dialects (to continue with these two) probably went the same way with respect to the metathesis of *lr* [*λr*], whereas they have partly gone separate ways with respect to the further development of the forms resulting from the metathesis. The relation between them may be tabulated in this way:

*lr* (Base-form)*lw* (Base-form)*rl*Al. & M. *lr*    L. *rg, p'*    Gr. *rl*Al. & M. *lw*    L. *gw*    Gr. *wλ*

I shall now proceed to give a series of examples of a sound-assimilation which takes place under conditions exactly corresponding to the conditions for the metathesis, and which will therefore throw a strong light back upon the examples which have been given for the metathesis.

Gr. [ <i>rq</i> ]	L. [ <i>rq</i> ]	M. [ <i>tq</i> ]
<i>erqa</i> his anus	<i>ittervik</i> entrance	—
<i>merqoq</i> a hair	<i>merkok</i>	—
<i>merqut</i> needle	<i>merkut</i>	—
<i>merqulik</i> shaggy	—	<i>mithkoyoapak</i>
<i>serqoq</i> knee	<i>sērkok</i>	—
<i>serqorpoq</i> it cracks	<i>serkorpok</i>	—
<i>qerqa</i> the middle of it	<i>kerka</i>	<i>kpitkpa</i>
<i>eqaluk</i> salmon-trout	<i>erkaluk</i>	<i>itkpaluk</i> fish
<i>terqiaq</i> a shade for the eyes	<i>terkejak</i>	<i>titkpepk</i>
<i>erqerqoq</i> the little finger	<i>erkekok</i>	—
<i>arqa</i> his name	<i>attera</i>	<i>atkpa</i>
<i>arqit</i> names	—	<i>atkpeit</i>
<i>arqatit</i> thy mittens	—	—
<i>narqa</i> the floor of a house	<i>takkek</i> the moon	<i>tatqaq</i>
	—	<i>natkpo</i> fond barqu
<i>(qa'rrqa</i> bone plate on the end of the harpoon shaft	<i>kakkoak</i>	? } <i>katkpok</i> bone ro'
<i>qarsog</i> arrow	<i>karkjok</i>	
<i>parqa</i> its marrow ( <i>pateq</i> marrow)	<i>pakkut</i>	

In these examples, we have in reality only a special form of the phonetical phenomenon treated above. The western dialects — including the Mackenzie dialect — show an unassimilated combination of a front consonant with the uvular *q* (written *k*); in the eastern dialects, these consonants have become assimilated\*). *tq* has here passed into *rq*, i. e. [*rq*],

\*) In the Greenlandic [*to<sup>u</sup>q'it*] the plural of [*tupeq*], a tent, the remains of the *p*, which have been preserved, have hindered the uvularization of the vowel. Yet I have also heard [*t<sup>r</sup>q'it*] in Greenlandic, with complete loss of the labial. — The Mackenzie Dialect has *tupkpeit*.

N Al. [ <i>tq</i> ]	NW Al. [ <i>tq</i> ]	SW Al. [ <i>λq</i> ] [ <i>tq</i> ] etc.
<i>i'tka</i> vent	—	<i>itl'hrǎ</i> his entrance
<i>mitko</i>	<i>mit'koon</i> a hair	—
—	<i>mit'koon</i> needle	<i>min'kūn</i> needle
—	—	—
<i>s'itkwuñā</i>	—	<i>chis'kōkā</i> my knee
—	—	<i>chīng'kōk</i> it crackles
—	—	—
—	—	—
<i>yiūkutko</i>	<i>etik'kook</i> the little finger	<i>ikkilthkoa</i> his l. f.
<i>atka</i>	<i>ot'kuh</i> name	<i>ǎt'rǎ</i> his name
—	—	—
<i>a'itkati</i>	<i>otkot'eka</i> my mittens	—
<i>tā'tkūñ</i>	<i>tatkeh</i> moon	—
—	—	<i>nātrok</i> boot sole
—	—	<i>kalth-ki'djet</i> shot (for shooting)
—	<i>pot'ka</i> its marrow	<i>pātōk</i> marrow

with uvularization of the preceding vowel and with the result that one long consonant takes the place of two short ones.

Yet there is an eastern dialect which is at an older stage, since the uvularization of the preceding vowel has not taken place. In the dialect of Baffin Land, as it is reproduced by F. Boas, *iq*, *ir* and *uq*, *ur* frequently occur in the stems of the words where Greenlandic and the Labrador dialect have *er* (*eq*) or (*oq*) *or*. I shall give a number of examples of this.

Bf. [ <i>iq ir iꞥ</i> ]	Gr. [ <i>eq er</i> ]	L. [ <i>eq er</i> ]
<i>si'qoq</i> knee	<i>serqoq</i>	<i>sērkok</i>
<i>irdning</i> , <i>irdnēing</i> son	<i>erneq</i>	<i>ernek</i>
<i>irdnivoq</i> she gives birth to	<i>erniwoq</i>	<i>ernivok</i>
<i>iqtsaq</i> temple	<i>ersaq</i> back part of the cheek	<i>erksak</i>
<i>iqtsirpā'q</i> cheek tooth, molar		
<i>pirtsirpoq</i> (the snow) drifts	<i>perserpoq</i>	<i>perkserpok</i>
<i>irnaut</i> train-oil	<i>erna<sup>wt</sup></i>	<i>erngaut</i>
<i>irmirsia'qdjung</i> a cup	<i>ermuseq</i>	<i>ermgusiārsuk</i>
<i>irmadlin</i> a piece of skin used to lay in the bottom of a kayak	<i>ermalisaq</i>	<i>ermalit</i>
<i>iqa'wik</i> intestines	<i>erlawik</i>	<i>erchavik</i>
<i>iqē</i> corner (of the mouth)	<i>ege</i>	<i>erke</i>
<i>iqva</i> the back end of the runner of a sledge	<i>erqua</i>	<i>erkok</i>
<i>iqomavoq</i> he is awake	<i>erqumawoq</i>	<i>erkomavok</i>
<i>qiqertaq</i> island	<i>qeqertaq</i>	<i>qikkertaq</i>
<i>miqung</i> hair	<i>merqoq</i>	<i>merkok</i>
<i>miqun</i> needle	<i>merqut</i>	<i>merkut</i>
<i>nirdjun</i> a great animal	<i>nersut</i>	<i>nergjut</i>
<i>sirinirn</i> sun	<i>seqineq</i>	<i>sekkineq</i>
<i>nixē</i> meat	<i>neqe</i>	<i>nerke</i>
<i>ixiqoq</i> little finger	<i>erqerqoq</i>	<i>erkekok</i>
<i>ixaluk</i> }		
<i>ixadlung</i> } salmon	<i>eqaluk</i>	<i>erkaluk</i>

<i>ixaqte</i> a sealskin without any hair on	<i>eqarte</i>	<i>erqekte</i>
<i>ixkotin</i> sea-weed	<i>eqv't</i>	<i>erklojak</i> (?)
<i>-lir</i> (suffix) begin	<i>-ler</i>	<i>-ler</i>
<i>aiviq</i> walrus	<i>a<sup>w</sup>weq</i>	<i>aivek</i>
<i>ne'tiq</i> seal	<i>nät'eq</i>	<i>netsek</i>
<i>tunig</i> a mythical people	<i>tuneq</i>	<i>tunek</i>
<i>imiq</i> water	<i>imeq</i>	<i>immek</i>
<i>axi'girn</i> ptarmigan	<i>aqi'seq</i>	<i>akkigek</i>
<i>tupirmut</i> to a tent	<i>tupermut</i>	<i>tuppek</i>
<i>saunirn</i> bone	<i>sa<sup>w</sup>neq</i>	<i>saunek</i>

Bf. [*uq ur uρ*]

<i>sū'qang</i> a whalebone
<i>uqsirn</i> a bone ring at the end of a dog-trace
<i>ajurnapoq</i> it is difficult
<i>uxsuq</i> blubber
<i>uxtsuaredlik</i> polar bear
<i>anure</i> wind

Gr. [*oq or*]

<i>sorgaq</i>
<i>orseq</i>
<i>ajornarpoq</i>
<i>orsoq</i>
( <i>orsoq</i> )
<i>anore</i>

L. [*oq or*]

<i>sokkak</i>
<i>oksek</i>
<i>ajornarpok</i>
<i>orksok</i>
<i>annore</i>

In these words of the Baffin dialect, accordingly, it seems as if the change of *i* > *e* and of *u* > *o* (or *ɔ*) has not taken place before the uvular consonants. There are only some few examples of this change in this dialect, as for instance *sōrmē* why, *tornit*, plur. of *tunig*, *qerniq* black, *serdnartoq* sour (Gr. and Labr. *sernartoq*) *niaxoq* head, *eqidliq* a mythical people, likewise the verbal endings *-poq*, *-voq*, *-toq*.

If we now collect all the information that we have been able to obtain about this phonetical change in the course of the foregoing comparison of the different dialects, we perceive exactly wherein it consists. As we see it, it is a retrogressive uvularization. In the life of the language itself, it is rather a matter of anticipated uvularization. It is the uvular position of the palate, which really ought not to occur



before in the beginning of the suffix, that already gets the upper hand in the stem of the word, whereby the loosely attached syllable (suffix) is closely united with or incorporated in the first part of the word.

The same view of the matter holds good when the suffix begins (not with an uvular, but) with a labial, as we saw in the example Gr. *iwłit* < \**ilwit* (cf. NW Al. *il'we*) and in similar examples. Here we find a retrogressive labialization, the movement of the lips being anticipated in the stem of the word.

§ 34. Cases of assimilation in Greenlandic inflexion and derivation. Already several times before (§§ 27 and 33) we have been impressed with the strongly amalgamated character of the Greenlandic language, and we have seen to how great an extent it may be permitted to consider the strong, heavy syllables of this language as developments of heterogeneous elements. Especially in the case of the retrogressive uvularization, we have seen how deep it sets its mark in the morphology of the Greenlandic language.

I shall now proceed to show that this phenomenon is only one particular link in a far more comprehensive chain of phonetical changes, all of which may be traced back to a common cause.

One of the first things that attracts our attention when we stop to think about Greenlandic grammar is the big contrast between the uvularized formations mentioned in the preceding paragraph and the corresponding stems ("nominatives" or absolutes) from which they are derived by grammatical inflexion. The nom. sing. of [*l'arq'a*] his name, and [*l'arq'it*] names, is [*at'eq*] a name; of [*nerma*] his or its band, [*nim'eq*], a band, cord; of [*ɔrnit*, *ɔrɲit*] (plur.), [*un'eq*] armpit; of [*erqa*], [*it'eq*] anus; of [*uarqa*], [*uat'eq*] floor; of [*to<sup>u</sup>q'a*], [*tup'eq*] tent etc.

In short, the original forms of these words have been preserved in Greenlandic in the nominative (absolutive), where the stem always agrees with the stem of the corresponding word in the West Eskimo dialects. But uvularization has been at work in many, if not in all of the inflected forms of these words. — We have the same case in various verbal derivations\*).

Retrogressive uvularization, then, appears in Greenlandic in the following cases:

1) in the formation of the plural of certain nouns, all of which end in *q* in the nominative (nominal *q*-stems) and accordingly have stress on the last syllable, for example: [at'eq], name, plur. ['arg'it]. Compare the regular formation of the plural as in *il'o*, house, plur. *il'ut*; *inuk*, human being, plur. *inuit* (with about equal stress on all the syllables). N.B. Not a few nouns end in *q* without being acted upon by any uvularization, as for example: *w'loq*, day, plur. *w'λ'ut*; *i'n'aq*, steep declivity, plur. *i'n'at*; *a'taq*, harp-seal (phoca groenlandica), plur. *a'tat*; *nuj'aq*, hair, plur. *nut'sūt*, and several others.

2) in the genitive singular of the same nouns: [at'eq], gen. ['arg'up] or ['arg'ip]; cf. the regular *il'o*, gen. *il'up*; *inuk*, gen. *inovp*.

3) in the following forms of the possessive inflexion of the same nouns: 2, 3 and 4 pers. sing. and 3 pers. plur. of the nominative singular of the noun; 3 pers. sing. and plur. of the nominative plural of the noun; 3 pers. sing. and plur. of the genitive of the noun; for example:

\*) Kleinschmidt has ingeniously appreciated and made use of this feature in arranging the words in his dictionary. If we want to know the meaning of *orna*, we have to look it up under *unek*; if we want to know the meaning of *ermuseq* (drinking-vessel) or *ermip'a'* (washes his face), we have to look it up under *imek* (water) etc. Cf. his Grammar § 7 and § 31.

Nom. Sing.		Nom. Plur.	
1 Sing.	<i>atera</i> my name	<i>atik'a</i>	my names
2 "	[ <i>arqit</i> ] thy name	<i>atitit</i>	thy names
3 Sing.	[ <i>arqa</i> ] his name	[ <i>arqe</i> ]	his names
4 "	[ <i>arqe</i> ] his (Lat. suus) name	<i>atine</i>	his (Lat. sui) names
3 "	[ <i>arqát</i> ] their name	[ <i>arqit</i> ] or [ <i>arqe</i> ]	their names

Genitive Sing.		Genitive Plur.	
1 Sing.	<i>aterma</i> my name's	<i>atima</i>	my names'
2 "	<i>aterpit</i> thy name's	<i>atiwit</i>	thy names'
3 "	[ <i>arqata</i> ] his name's	[ <i>arqisa</i> ]	his names'
4 "	<i>aterme</i> his (suus) name's	<i>atime</i>	his (sui) names'

4) in certain verbal derivations, for instance:

[*is'erpoq*] goes in, comes in > [*'erq'up'a'*] carries or brings it in;  
 [*'is'erp'a'*] hides it > [*'ers'up'a'*] hides himself from him (children  
 at play);  
 [*nim'eq*] cord, band > [*n'erm'up'a'*] binds him or it.

Cf. the regular mode of formation (with the same suffix -*up'a'*) in *añiarpoq*, rubs, files > *añiup'a'*, rubs something against something else.

I shall here give a number — probably the greater part — of the Greenlandic nouns that are inflected after the analogy of *ateq* name, *arqit* 1) names, 2) thy name, *arqa* his name; cf. the M. dialect where we have *atépeit* or *atkpeit* names, *atkpen* thy name, *atkpa* his name, and N Al. *atka* his name; SE Al. *at'ka* or *at'ra* my name:

*nateq* floor — *narqa* its (the house's etc.) floor; cf. M. *natkpo*.  
*qiteq* middle — *qerqa* its middle, cf. M. dialect *kpitkpa*.  
*iteq* anus — *erqa* its or his anus, cf. L. *ittervik* a door-way,  
 N Al. *itka* vent, SE Al. *it'hrä* his entrance.

In the following examples, I give the plural form as a type of the inflectional stem:

[ <i>al</i> — <i>arλ</i> ]	<i>aleq</i> harpoon-strap, plur. <i>arλit</i>
[ <i>ul</i> — <i>orλ</i> ]	<i>qonuleq</i> cabbage, plur. <i>qonorλit</i>
[ <i>a't</i> — <i>a'r</i> ]	<i>qa'teq</i> a ferrule, a ring, plur. <i>qa'rqit</i>
[ <i>a<sup>w</sup>n</i> — <i>a<sup>o</sup>rn</i> ]	<i>sa<sup>w</sup>neq</i> bone, plur. <i>sa<sup>o</sup>rnit</i>
[ <i>an</i> — <i>arn</i> ]	<i>qaneq</i> mouth, plur. <i>qarnit</i>
[ <i>in</i> — <i>ern</i> ]	<i>arfineq</i> six, plur. <i>arfernit</i>
[ <i>un</i> — <i>orn</i> ]	<i>uneq</i> armpit, plur. <i>ornit</i>
[ <i>a<sup>w</sup></i> — <i>a<sup>o</sup>r</i> ]	<i>a<sup>w</sup>eq</i> walrus, plur. <i>a<sup>o</sup>rqit</i> or <i>a<sup>o</sup>p<sup>o</sup>it</i>
[ <i>i<sup>w</sup></i> — <i>e<sup>o</sup>φ</i> ]	<i>iliweq</i> a grave, plur. <i>ilerφit</i>
[ <i>u<sup>w</sup></i> — <i>o<sup>o</sup>p<sup>o</sup></i> ]	<i>iluweq</i> a grave, plur. <i>ilo<sup>o</sup>p<sup>o</sup>it</i>
[ <i>i<sup>p</sup></i> — <i>e<sup>w</sup>q<sup>o</sup></i> ]	<i>ipeq</i> filth, dirt, plur. <i>e<sup>w</sup>q<sup>o</sup>it</i>
[ <i>u<sup>p</sup></i> — <i>o<sup>w</sup>q<sup>o</sup></i> ]	<i>tupeq</i> a tent, plur. <i>to<sup>w</sup>q<sup>o</sup>it</i>
[ <i>im</i> — <i>erm</i> ]	<i>imeq</i> water, lake, plur. <i>ermit</i> ; <i>nimeq</i> band, plur. <i>nermit</i>

There are also some few examples of such words, where the stem ends in a back consonant:

[ <i>ig</i> — <i>e<sup>o</sup>p<sup>o</sup></i> ]	<i>nigeq</i> (S Gr.) south wind, in the genitive <i>ne<sup>o</sup>p<sup>o</sup>up</i>
[ <i>aη</i> — <i>a<sup>o</sup>p<sup>o</sup></i> ]	<i>kaηeq</i> promontory, 3 pers. possessive <i>ka<sup>o</sup>p<sup>o</sup>a</i>

There are some examples of words whose stem contains an uvular; in these, accordingly, no qualitative change of the vowel of the stem takes place, since it is already uvularized beforehand:

[ <i>ar</i> — <i>a<sup>o</sup>q<sup>o</sup></i> ]	<i>piaraq</i> the young of an animal, plur. <i>piarqat</i> <i>aqajaroq</i> stomach, plur. <i>aqajarqat</i> <i>niaqoq</i> head, plur. <i>niarqut</i> ; <i>ujarak</i> stone, plur. <i>ujarqat</i>
[ <i>e<sup>o</sup>r</i> — <i>e<sup>o</sup>q<sup>o</sup></i> ]	<i>me<sup>o</sup>raq</i> child, plur. <i>me<sup>o</sup>rqat</i>
[ <i>ε<sup>o</sup>r</i> — <i>e<sup>o</sup>q<sup>o</sup></i> ]	<i>taler<sup>o</sup>q</i> the forepaw of a seal, plur. <i>talerqut</i>
[ <i>or</i> — <i>o<sup>o</sup>q<sup>o</sup></i> ]	<i>sioraq</i> a grain of sand, plur. <i>siorqat</i> <i>oq<sup>o</sup>aq</i> the tongue, plur. <i>orqat</i>

It is not difficult to get some idea as to the shape of the uvularized forms in some earlier period. It lies near at hand to assume that they have all originated in the same way, namely after the analogy of *ateq* and those other words where we have parallel forms to compare with in the West Eskimo dialects\*). In these dialects, as we have seen, the inflected forms too represent the stage when the vowel of the stem has not yet been uvularized and the metathesis has not yet been carried out.

But I think it is possible to go one more stage further back.

There is an indication of the original conditions in one of the more central dialects, namely in the Mackenzie River dialect. For the numeral 2, Petitot gives for the Churchill River dialect the form *malpok*, but for the dialect that he himself had heard he gives a form which he spells *mallepok* or *mälæpok*; Greenlandic has *marluk*. Analogously, then, I think it may be assumed that *arqit* originally had the shape \**ateqit*, which would be the regular plural form of *ateq*, cf. plur. *inuit* (men) < sing. *inuk* (man), plur. *unuit* < sing. *unuk* (evening) etc. And Petitot actually gives a plural form for this word from the Mackenzie dialect which could be the next stage of the development of the original form, namely *atépeit*.

Petitot has still more words that show that the present Greenlandic forms must originally have been one syllable longer, namely:

M.	L.	W Gr.
[lɛg] <i>malæpit</i> <sup>1</sup> waves	[χ] <i>maggit</i> <sup>1</sup>	[λ] <i>maλ'it</i> , in the sing. <i>malik</i>
<i>arvenelæpit</i> six		" <i>arφinil'it</i>
	C.	
[gil] <i>tigiliyoyapk</i> thief	[gil] <i>tigiliktok</i>	" <i>tiλ'it-oq</i>

<sup>1</sup> In M. also *malit*, in L. *mallit*.

\*) Yet at the same time I shall not omit to remark that we may risk making mistakes when we try to reconstruct without qualification the



In these Greenlandic words, there is no uvularization (vowel *i*), for the stem-forms have not given any occasion for it; Petitot's *ρ* in the last syllable probably designates *g* here (not as often otherwise, *r*).

In the M. dialect, then, not only among the nominal *q*-stems, but also among the non-uvular stems, we find examples of unassimilated word-forms where 3 short syllables (i. e. 3 syllables consisting of short sounds) correspond to 1 long syllable + 1 short syllable in the words of the Greenlandic dialect. Another way of expressing it is that in a Greenlandic word of this kind a long consonant has replaced the middle syllable of the word in the M. dialect. In the above examples (*mal'it*), the Greenlandic *λ* corresponds to the *læq* of the M. dialect; that is the reason why the Greenlandic plural form has a long *l*, although this sound in the singular form *malik* is short.

I think that this case may be employed to explain most of the other Greenlandic plural forms of words that contain a short voiced consonant in the singular and a long unvoiced consonant in the plural. The chief peculiarity of this plural formation, as it is now found in Greenlandic, seems to consist in the shifting of stress that takes place: in the singular *malik*, but in the plural *m'aλ'it*. I shall later come to consider this peculiarity more closely. Here I shall merely try to explain the quantitative change which at the same time affects the next last consonant in the word. If my hypothesis about the matter is correct, then the lengthening of this consonant is due to the peculiar manner in which the plural of

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original shape of every Greenlandic word of this formation. Only with some modification does the analogy of *arqa* < *atqa* apply to *merqut* (a needle), for in the Alaska language the latter has a form whose stem is *min-* (not *mit-*): SEAL. *mīn'kun*, needle: *mīnnuksūq'tōa*, I want to sew. — In not a few cases, an uvularized stem is found in both the eastern and the western dialects

these words has originated. The plural suffix *-it* is added to the consonantal singular form so that the final consonant of the singular (*k* or *q*) enters into the plural form: *-kit* or *-qit*. I consider this to be a later feature in the language, although at present most Greenlandic nouns form their plural according to this principle. The more original principle is no doubt that which we find kept up in such simple plural formations as for instance sing. *nuna* (land), plur. *nunat*; sing. *inuk* (man), plur. *inuit*. Here *t* or *it* is added to the vocalic stem. But the plural forms of later construction are characterized by their retention of the final consonant. Ex.

Sing.	Plural (Greenlandic)
<i>qipik</i> feather bed	<i>qi<sup>w</sup>k'it</i> < * <i>qipkit</i> < * <i>qipikit</i>
<i>tipik</i> small	<i>ti<sup>w</sup>k'it</i> < * <i>tipkit</i> < * <i>tipikit</i>
<i>qatik</i> a bird's breast	<i>qak'it</i> < * <i>qatkit</i> < * <i>qatikit</i>
<i>iwik</i> grass	<i>i<sup>w</sup>it</i> < * <i>iwgit</i> ? < * <i>iwikit</i>

Here belongs also with a voiced consonant in the plural:

<i>umik</i> beard	<i>um'it</i> < * <i>umgit</i> < * <i>umikit</i>
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Likewise in the following examples, where it is uncertain, however, whether the long *l*- and *k*-sounds [*λ*, *k*] represent original groups with *q* (*lq* etc.) or if these words originally are *k*-stems (not *q*-stems) and the long consonants are derived from *lk* (through *lq* or *lχ*), *gk*, *wk*:

Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
<i>tal'eq</i> arm	<i>t'aλ'it</i>	<i>isīnak</i> (N Gr.)	<i>isik'at</i>
<i>ukal'eq</i> hare	<i>uk'aλ'it</i>	<i>isigak</i> (S Gr.)	
<i>uīl'oq</i> mussel, shell	<i>u'iλ'ut</i>	<i>na'lanāq</i> (N Gr.)	<i>na'lak'at</i>
<i>al'oq</i> sole of the foot	<i>'aλ'ut</i>	<i>n'alagaq</i> (S Gr.)	
<i>asaloq</i> the little stool to lay the implements on in a kayak	<i>as'aλ'ut</i>	<i>inuwaq</i> a toe	<i>inu<sup>w</sup>k'at</i>
		<i>tuluwaq</i> a raven	<i>tulu<sup>w</sup>k'at</i>
		<i>qilaluwaq</i> a white-whale	<i>qilalu<sup>w</sup>k'at</i>
		etc.	etc.

The last words, then, all have a peculiarity which distinguishes them from *malik*; they are namely *q*-stems in the present language. But aside from this, is not the case with these plural forms the same as the case with Gr. *maḵ-it*, which in the M. dialect had the form *malæpit* [*maleqit*?], but in the singular had the form *malik* in both dialects?

That the longer form from the M. dialect represents an older stage than the Greenlandic form, and that this stage has at one time been represented in the latter dialect also as far as these words are concerned seems to be evident not only on comparing the forms of the M. dialect, but also on comparing the many other words in the present Greenlandic language that form their plural in an exactly corresponding manner, namely by the simple addition of the plural-suffix to the singular form. I shall here give some examples of this formation, classifying them according as the final consonant of the base-form is or is not subjected to change when the ending is added:

[*t*] unchanged: *merqut* needle, plur. *merqutit*; *aṇut* male, man, plur. *aṇutit*; *up'at* thigh, plur. *up'atit*.

[*t* > *s*]: *awḷá:t* shooting weapon, plur. *awḷá:rsit*; *iḷ'it* a board in the stump-bed, plur. *iḷ'isit*; *more'sit* grindstone, plur. *more'sisit*.

[*q* > *r*]: *ikeq* bay, plur. *ikerit*; *tikeq* forefinger, plur. *tikerit*; *sineq* boot-laces, plur. *sinerit*; *kaṇeq* promontory, plur. *kaṇerit*; *o'neq* a burn, plur. *o'nerit*; *iḷ'eq* stump-bed, plur. *iḷ'erit*; *páneq* he-reindeer; plur. *pánerit*; *nerleq* a goose, plur. *nerlerit*.

[*k* > \**q* > *ŋ*]: *up'ik* owl, plur. *up'ṇit*; *to'ḷ'ik* big loon, plur. *to'ḷ'ṇit*; *kiḷ'ik* boundary, limit, plur. *kiḷ'ṇit*; *as'ik* picture, plur. *as'ṇit*.

So I consider this mode of forming the plural to be more original than the mode first taken up (*malik*, plur. *maḵ-it*).

I have a few remarks a propos of the last examples. The transition from *k* to *ŋ* has more probably taken place through an unnasalized *q* than at one bound. I conclude this from a

couple of these words ending in *k* which have a second plural form, one that seems to have resulted from an assimilation of *-it* and the final syllable of the singular form; both *up'ik* and *tv'λ'ik* have such double plural forms, the first *up'et* (and *up'ηit*), the second *tv'λ'et* (and *tv'λ'ηit*). Some few other words form their plural only in this way:

*man'ik* egg, plur. *man'et*; *orpik* a tree, plur. *orp'et*; *sawik* a knife, plur. *saw'et*.

Of course *-et* could have originated from *-iit*, the words thus being inflected on the stem alone; but *iqi* too would in an assimilation become *ɛ*, and there is reason to assume that this intermediate form has existed, when we compare the doublets: *up'et*, *up'ηit* with the sing. *up'ik*. The transition *q > η* is well known. So I think we may assume that the plural forms of these words have originally consisted of three syllables. In the pronunciation of some people and in some words, *-iqi* has passed into *ɛ* (*\*orpiqit > orp'it*); in the pronunciation of others and in other words, it has passed into *ηi* (*up'ik*, plur. *\*up'iqit > up'ηit*).

With respect to the examples with final *q* in the singular, the first question is, why has the retrogressive uvularization not taken place in these words. It might be suggested that these words, at all events as far as their final consonant is concerned, belonged to a later period of the language, so that the time for uvularization was past when they began to be inflected in the plural etc. But against this hypothesis there is the fact that they are so wide-spread in the western dialects. The truth of the matter is rather this, that there may be certain conditions in the base of the word which prevent uvularization from penetrating into it. It need not be supposed that these conditions are of the same kind in all of these exceptions; for each of these exceptions there may have been a special reason why it was preserved as a trisyllabic word in the plural. In the first place I have in mind the difficulty of



articulating certain sound-groups; for instance, if the syllable *ik-* in *ikeq* should be uvularized, the result would be a combination *iq*, which is difficult to pronounce; for that reason *i* is otherwise as a rule changed to *e* in the East Eskimo dialects\*); but — that is another reason — such a change would make this word unrecognizable, and this circumstance leads to a break in the tendency of the language in this case, so the old-fashioned plural form is preserved (*ikerit* etc.). But the new habit of formation is seen for instance in *nimeq* (band, cord) plur. *nermit*.

With respect to the words: *nerleq*, *pāneq*, and *il'eq*, I consider it highly probable that they have preserved the old trisyllabic plural because the first, now the heavy, syllable of the word has originally consisted of two light syllables, the original plural form of this word having consisted of four syllables.

When I consider it probable that this circumstance may have prevented retrogressive uvularization from taking place in these words, then it is because I feel convinced that the development of uvularization is very closely connected with a differentiation of the even word-stress, that which I have found to be present in all Greenlandic words with similarly constructed syllables. For instance if we conceive of [*iλ'er'it*], the present plural of *il'eq*, as resolved into an original form consisting merely of light syllables *\*ikilerit*, these syllables would all have about the same stress. The same would apply to all the plural forms cited, both those with and those without an uvularized base in the plural (and to

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\* ) Except in the dialect of Baffin Land, and likewise in some Greenlandic words: Gr. *is'e*, eye, *is'e*, cold, *i's'oq*, turf, mould, *is'erpoq*, is hidden, hides himself. The older forms of these words, namely *ir'se*, *ir'se*, *ir'psok* (Fabricius *ir'bsok* or *ir'vsok*), *ir'serpok*, which are found in Egede (and Fabricius), show that the high position of the front of the tongue, especially when followed by *s*, has got the better of the uvularization and exterminated it, as it were.



the other inflectional forms that are formed on the same stem as the plural form). In other words, the case applies not only to those words where there has been a possibility for uvularization, but to all those nouns and all those verbal derivatives in the East Eskimo languages where the declension or derivation of the word is accompanied by a change of stress.

From all those words, then, in the present language that have even stress on all their syllables because the syllables are similarly constructed, I draw my conclusions for that period of the language when the forms treated here were as yet unassimilated; they must at that time have consisted of similar series of syllables constructed alike with a certain stress on each syllable but with the same stress on them all. (I think I may be permitted to assume that the accentuation of the language was the same then as it is now). But then there came a time in the history of the language when the even stress — for unknown reasons — became undulating as it were, and has divided itself between the first and last syllables of the word. It was at this stage of development that Petitot wrote down, for instance, the word *mallerok*, cf. Al. *mälruk*, Gr. *marluk*) which he also gives with an accent on the first syllable and spelled: *mäləpok*; cf. his *atépeit*, the plural form of *ateñ* (a name), which in Greenlandic has the shape: *at'eq*, plur. *'arq'it*. When the middle syllable loses its stress, its vowel is dropped in the course of time, and the result is a consonant-collision. In the western dialects, the course of development is in many words still at this stage, while in the dialects at Davis Strait, a different distribution of the sound groups of these words has taken place, a distribution which has led to the assimilated and geminated consonants of the present language and moreover in a number of words to the uvularization of the base-syllable itself.

In conclusion I shall venture to give some illustrations of how I suppose the development of the present Greenlandic

forms in each single case to have taken place; the hypothetical intermediate forms are, as usual, marked with an asterisk, but I may remind the reader that for several of these forms there are real parallels in the West Eskimo dialects and that closer acquaintance with these dialects will undoubtedly lead to the discovery of many more forms which will establish the correctness of those given here merely as hypothetical:

Present Greenlandic		Intermediate Phases of Plural Formation			Original and regular Plural or Possessiv
Sing.	Plur. or Possessiv				
<i>ateq</i> a name	<i>arqit</i>	< * <i>aq'it</i>	< * <i>atqit</i>		< * <i>ateqit</i>
<i>náteq</i> a floor	<i>nargit</i>	< * <i>naq'it</i>	< * <i>natqit</i>		< * <i>nateqit</i>
<i>iteq</i> anus	<i>erga</i> (his a.)	< * <i>irga</i>	< * <i>itga</i>		< * <i>itega</i>
<i>qiteq</i> middle	<i>qerga</i> (its m.)	< * <i>qirga</i>	< * <i>qitga</i>		< * <i>qitega</i>
<i>miteq</i> eider duck	<i>merqit</i>	< * <i>mirqit</i>	< * <i>mitqit</i>		< * <i>miteqit</i>
<i>a<sup>w</sup>weq</i> walrus	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} a^{\circ}r\varphi it \text{ or} \\ a^{\circ}\rho it \end{array} \right.$	< * <i>a<sup>w</sup>φpit</i>	< * <i>a<sup>w</sup>rit</i>	< * <i>a<sup>w</sup>werit</i>	< * <i>a<sup>w</sup>weqit</i>
<i>aleq</i> harpoon-line	<i>arlit</i>	< * <i>alpit</i>	< * <i>alrit</i>	< * <i>alerit</i>	< * <i>aleqit</i>
<i>iwik</i> grass	<i>iφit</i>	< * <i>iφxit</i>	< * <i>iwgit</i>	< * <i>iwigit</i>	< * <i>iwikit</i>
<i>qipik</i> featherbed	<i>qi<sup>w</sup>k'it</i>	< * <i>qi<sup>w</sup>kkit</i>	< * <i>qipkkit</i>	<	< * <i>qipikkit</i>
* <i>tupeq</i> a tent	<i>to<sup>w</sup>q'it</i>	< * <i>tuwqit</i>	< * <i>tupqit</i>	<	< * <i>tupeqit</i>
<i>nimeq</i> band	<i>nermit</i>	< * <i>nirmit</i>	< * <i>nimrit</i>	< * <i>nimerit</i>	< * <i>nimeqit</i>
<i>akuneq</i> interval, place between	<i>akornit</i>	< * <i>akurnit</i>	< * <i>akunrit</i>	< * <i>akunerit</i>	< * <i>akuneqit</i>

Similar series of phases of development can be drawn up for a number of derivatives which are formed with suffixes whose meanings are known from their combinations with other words, for example:

With the nominal suffix *-useq*, a means (instrument) by which something is done:

*imeq* water:  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ermuseq \\ erw\eta useq \end{array} \right.$  a dipper  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} < *irmuseq < *imruseq < *imernuseq < *imequseq \\ < *irw\eta useq < *irmguseq < *imrguseq \end{array} \right.$

With the nominal suffix *-araq* little

*nigeq* south wind: *nep'a'q* a gentle < \**nip'a'q* < \**nizpa'q* < \**nigra'q*  
south wind < \**nigeraraq*

With the verbal suffix *-umawoq*, which in the present Greenlandic and Labrador dialects designates that something or someone is in a certain state

*iterpoq* wakens: *erqumawoq* is awake < \**irqumawoq* < \**itqumawoq*  
< \**itequmawoq*

*iserpoq* goes in: *erqumawoq* has dived < \**irqumawoq* < \**isqumawoq*  
down under < \**isequmawoq*  
the water

With the nominal suffix *-ut* or *-it*, which designates an instrument with which something is done, a reason, or the like:

*nimeq*: *nermup'oq* winds < \**nirmup'oq* < \**nimrutpoq* < \**nimerutpoq*  
a band itself about < \**nimequtpoq*  
something

*imeq*: *ermip'oq* washes < \**irmip'oq* < \**imritpoq* < \**imeritpoq*  
water himself in < \**imeqitpoq*  
the face

*aterpoq*: *arqup'a'* brings < \**aq'up'a'* < \**atqutpa'* < \**atequtpau*  
he goes down it down

Before leaving this subject, I shall stop to consider those nominal *q*-stems (Greenlandic) in the formation of whose plural a shifting of stress takes place, however, without that uvularizing of the inner part of the stem which might be expected. Why does it fail to appear? I have already formerly mentioned some of these cases (*uiloq—uik'ut* etc. cf. pag. 248). I suggested the possibility that these words were not originally *q*-stems, but ended in *-k*, so that there was really nothing to cause uvularization. I did not mention the other difficulty which in that case would still remain, namely the explanation of the presence of the vowels *u* and *a* in the plural ending instead of *i*; for the only plural suffixes that we consider regular are *-t* or *-it*. If the middle syllable should disappear from what we suppose to have been the original plural form (\**uiloqit*),

we should of course expect the ending *-it* (\**uiλ'it* instead of *uiλ'ut*). We do not meet with this difficulty in those words which end in *-ik* (*malik* etc.) or *-eq* (*taleq*) in the singular. But in those words of this kind which end in *-oq* or *-aq* (*na'laqag*) in the singular (in the plural respectively *-ut* or *-at*) there are accordingly two irregularities to be explained: the absence of uvularization in the last syllable but one and the presence of *a* (*ä*) or *u* in the last syllable. Many more examples of non-uvularized plural forms might be added to those already given (cf. pp. 243 and 248):

*nig'aq* (snare), plur. *n'ix'ät*; *qatig'aq* (a back), plur. *qat'ix'ät*;  
*nan'oq* (bear), plur. *n'an'ut*; *tas'eq* (lake), plur. *t'ät'it* etc.

Most of these plural formations may belong to a latest stage in the development of the plural inflexion of nouns; perhaps there is no longer any question here of an assimilation of *q* (or *k*) with the inner consonant of the stem, but they may simply be analogical formations after the earlier models. The shifting of stress has been felt as the main principle in the formation of the plural form and along with it has followed quite mechanically, so to speak, that change of the stem consonant which consists in its lengthening and, in so far as it is a non-nasal, its unvoicing. As for the suffix, however, the original manner of constructing the plural is retained, namely by the addition of *-t* to the stem vowel.

**§ 35. Historical perspective.** Although next to nothing is known about the language spoken in large portions of the Eskimo world — I include here the American polar archipelago and in part Baffin Land, the north coast of the American continent south of the archipelago, the coasts of Hudson Bay, the northern coasts of Alaska and the Asiatic side of Bering Strait — yet the three or four dialects that



have been more or less thoroughly investigated (the dialects of Greenland, Labrador, the mouth of the Mackenzie River and South West Alaska) furnish sufficient material for us to be able to make a temporary sketch of the differences between them. In the last two sections, I have especially tried to get at the bottom of some of the phonetical peculiarities of the dialects in these four places. I may add that the impressions that I have got from the lists of words and the many scattered words given by travelers in their accounts about the interjacent districts have only served to support the results that I have come to through the chief works about the Eskimo language.

From the nature of the dialectal differences it is in many cases possible to draw conclusions with regard to the history of the language. — In the following I shall try to combine these conclusions with the few historical facts that are known about the Eskimo. Among the facts I include the theory so plausibly set forth by H. Rink, namely that the Eskimo have developed their special form of civilization in common as a coast-population at some point on the arctic coast, and that from this point — whose exact situation is uncertain — they have followed the coasts in slow migrations until they have become distributed as at present\*).

When Greenlandic in a great number of words has *s* where the American dialects have *j*, it is reasonable (even if not necessary) from a general phonetical point of view to assume that *j* is the primary, *s* the secondary sound. That this is the case in the Eskimo languages is confirmed by the fact that the transitions that take place between other open consonants within this family of languages always seem to have been in the direction from voiced to unvoiced sounds. Within the Greenlandic language itself, the aspirated fricatives are secondary in relation to the voiced fricatives; for they often

\*) H. Rink. Om Eskimoernes Herkomst. Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie, 2. Series, Vol. V, Copenhagen 1890.



occur when a word whose stem contains a voiced fricative is either inflected or supplied with a suffix so that it undergoes a shifting of stress, as for example:

<i>iwik</i> a blade of grass	plur. <i>ʰiφit</i>
<i>al'oq</i> a sole of a foot or a boot	» <i>aλ'ut</i>
<i>nig'aq</i> (SGr.) a snare	» <i>nʰiχ'at</i>
<i>neriwoq</i> is eating	<i>n'eφ'iw'ik</i> the place where you eat, table or dining-room

Now if we find similar relations existing between the same kinds of sounds as they occur in two different dialects, it is natural to regard them after the analogy of the parallel relations within the single dialect. So when we find that *kiligwaq* fossil elephant, mammoth (Ray, Petitot) in the western dialects has become *kiliφ'aq* in Greenlandic, the latter form is undoubtedly later than the former; the unvoiced fricative *φ* in Greenlandic has accordingly originated by the assimilation of two different voiced fricatives. *kiwgaq* a servant, a house-maid in the Labrador and Mackenzie dialects has got the form *kiv'φ'aq* in SGr., where the voice perhaps still lingers a little in the beginning of the *φ*-sound, but otherwise the case is essentially the same as the preceding one, only that *w* in the unassimilated form here stands before *g*. In the SWAl. dialect I find the word in the form *kūvūgāk* messenger, envoy (Barnum). — In the preceding sections (pp. 225, 233, 236, 246, 248), there are examples showing the same relations between the other open consonants. The orthography in the specimens of the western dialects has throughout, as we have seen, *bw*, *wg*, *lq*, *gj*, *rj*, *rg*, as against Greenlandic *φ*, *λ*, *ς*, *χ*. Therefore I have been led to infer that voiced sounds originally corresponded to the present unvoiced fricatives in SW. Greenlandic.

In these cases, *Upernawik* Greenlandic and *Ammassalik* Greenlandic, as has often before been mentioned, have got unvoiced stopped consonants, for example: *ki<sup>w</sup>part* instead of

SGr. *ki<sup>u</sup>φ·at* (plur. of *ki<sup>u</sup>φ·aq*). Since this peculiarity is common to these two groups, which are geographically so widely separated, it must already have developed at a time when they composed a group together or both belonged to another group as against the remaining Greenlanders. In relation to the fricatives of Middle and South Greenlandic, then, these stopped consonants are scarcely secondary\*), but rather parallel developments of the same voiced sounds from which the fricatives have developed. The fact that they almost completely take the place of the unvoiced fricatives is so important that it makes the whole consonant-system of this «northeastern» group different not only from the South Greenlandic but also from the sound-systems of all the other dialects which it has been possible to analyze phonetically. — On the other hand, South Greenlandic and the Labrador dialect agree in this respect (cf. pag. 203).

If we now turn to the relation between *s* and *j* in these dialects, their distribution is at first glance different. The *s*-sounds seem to connect the *Upernawik* dialect with Middle and South Greenlandic. The Labrador dialect differs from South Greenlandic in that it has *j*. Yet on closer inspection the case assumes a different aspect. The transition from *j* to *s* (unvoiced) between two vowels I think may be considered as peculiar to Middle and South Greenlandic. If the inhabitants of *Upernawik* have this *s* throughout, and I have reason to believe that they have, yet it is not certain that they have got it at the same time as their neighbors to the south; for instance it is possible that after they had settled down in their present territory, they have been influenced by intercourse with their neighbors and have adopted the sound from them. In favor of

\*) Within the Indo-European family of languages, the stopped consonants, for instance *p t k*, are generally primary in relation to the Germanic unvoiced fricatives. But the case is different in the Eskimo language-group; the stopped consonants in question are here geminated sounds. Long consonants are always unvoiced in Greenlandic in so far as they are not nasalized.

this hypothesis there is among other things the fact that the *Anmassalik* language — the eastern branch of the group — in at least a couple of the words that have been communicated to me has *j* instead of *s*, for example in the common adjectival suffix *-kajik* evil, bad (S Gr. *-kasik*). The Eskimo of Smith Sound have voiced *s* [*z*] here, I think (cf. p. 215). If these northernmost dialects (including that of *Upernavik*) have originally belonged to one and the same group, they have gone different ways with respect to this sound since their separation. Before their separation, however, it is probable that they have had this *j*.

The case is analogous to that of those words where S Gr. has *ts* (*nätseq* a seal) M Gr. *t*, Up Gr. *s*, E Gr. *t* or *tɕ* (*tjs*), L. *ts* or *tj*, Al. *tj* (cf. § 31, pp. 190—192 and § 32, pp. 205—208). Here too L. and S Gr. agree, whereas the northernmost groups in Greenland not only deviate from these but also from each other. — Finally there are a couple of words in which all W Gr., so far as I know, has *s* (*täs'a*, *mas'a*), where E Gr. has *ts* and *t*, L. *tj* (*tamadja*) and *χ* (*tagga*)\*), and the western dialects *dj*.

I shall give a survey of these sound-changes in the different dialects, as shown in the examples in the previous sections (§§ 31—32), but it must be remembered that the correspondence between the sounds is not absolute, *j* in one dialect, for instance always corresponding to *s* in the other; on the contrary, in many words *j* occurs both in L. and Gr.; not every *t* in L. has become *s* in Gr. and so on. Besides my sources are so scanty that I have not often succeeded in getting information about one and the same word in all the dialects. The table is therefore on several points of purely temporary value.

Al. and M.	L.	Bf.	M Gr.	S Gr.	E Gr.	Up Gr.
<i>j</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>j</i>	<u><i>s</i></u>		<i>j</i>	<i>s</i>
<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>s</i>		<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>
<i>tj</i> ( <i>dj</i> ?)	<i>tj</i> , <i>ts</i>	<i>t</i> , <i>dj</i> ?	<i>t</i> , <i>s</i>	<i>ts</i> , <i>s</i>	<i>ts</i> , <i>t</i>	<i>s</i> , <i>tɕ</i>
<i>tš</i> , <i>ts</i>	<i>ts</i>	<i>ts</i> ?	<i>s</i>			<i>s</i>

\*) Cf. Bourquin Esk. Gr § 192.

The *Upernivik* Greenlanders, then, have carried this change fartherst since the time when it began.

Of great interest is the fact that the Labrador dialect has taken part in the change of *j* to *s*, namely in a number of those words where *j* was preceded by *t* (N Al. *tj*). From that I conclude that this change has begun in the words which contained *tj*. At this point the Labrador dialect came to a standstill without having completely carried out the change. Therefore this dialect has sometimes *ts* and sometimes *tj* in those words where Greenlandic has got *ts*, while the more western dialects in Alaska have *tj* and, just like Labrador, *j* in those words, where W Gr. has got *s*. Where the western dialects have *ts*, these sounds have been preserved in the L. dialect, while Greenlandic through more advanced assimilation has generally got *s* (or *s*), cf. the examples cited in § 32. This change of sound in the East Eskimo dialects (*tj* > *ts*) must accordingly have begun shortly before the separation of the L. and S Gr. dialects. In other words, the tendency to change the sound *j* to *s*, a change which the present Greenlanders have extensively carried out, had already begun in the districts on the other side of Smith Sound while the ancestors of the South Greenlanders were still closely connected with the Labrador tribe. It may be dated as the time just before the invasion into Greenland in the 13<sup>th</sup> C.

The change of *t* to *s* in Greenlandic is probably somewhat later.

The next phonetical phenomenon to be taken up is of just as great importance for the establishment of boundaries between the dialects as the one we have just left. It is the metathesis or retrogressive uvularization that has been treated in § 33. It seems as if the boundary-line drawn by this phenomenon must lie between the Mackenzie River and Labrador; for the present I assume it to be the west side of Hudson Bay. The



language west of this line, then, is West Eskimo, the language east of it, East Eskimo.

If the Central Eskimo group should prove to be on the West Eskimo side, the boundary-line must be somewhat modified.

In about all the examples that have been found of retrogressive uvularization, the Mackenzie River dialect agrees with the Alaska dialects in having preserved the original shape of the consonant-group, where the uvular stands last (*itjr-*, *atjr-*, etc.). Only in the word for eye, does the Mackenzie dialect come nearer to the present Labrador form *ij'e* than to the Alaska words, the latter having preserved, but the former having completely lost the uvular. But this sound was still preserved in this word in the Baffin Land dialect as late as Frobisher's time, and indeed in Greenlandic even as late as Egede's time (*irse*), and in these dialects it occupied the first place in the consonant-group; this leads me to presume that it must also have been present at one time in the Labrador and Mackenzie dialects, whether it has had the same or a different position in the consonant-group in those two dialects.

The subject of metathesis and uvularization in the Eskimo dialects is not exhausted when we have determined the chief line of division between East and West Eskimo. As has already been mentioned at the end of § 32, there are indications that within the West Eskimo dialect-group (Mackenzie R. dialect and Alaska dialects) there must have existed an old division similar to the one between the East and West Eskimo groups. In other words, as far as these sound-changes are concerned, there seem to be two strata, as it were, in the dialects. Petiot's *Vocabulaire* of the Mackenzie R. dialect contains several forms which might indicate that this dialect too, in several words, has followed these East Eskimo tendencies. For example: *M. toṛṇapṛk* (démon), *apṇapṛk* (femme adulte), *kṛṇṇepṇetopṛk* (noir), *tcheṇṇapṇetopṛk* (gratin), *opṛktçôk* (graisse) — cf. *Gr. toṛṇaq*, *arnaq*,



*gernertoq*, *servuortoq*, *orsoq*. Whether the stems of these words have in the distant past been without an uvular or had *nr*, *sr* instead of *rn*, *rs*, the uvularization of their first syllable must have taken place at a time when the Mackenzie R. Eskimo and the East Eskimo had not yet separated from each other. It is highly characteristic that in the following form in the M. dialect, where the retrogressive uvularization is distinct enough, present Greenlandic has, not uvularization, but a geminated consonant:

M. *amepok*, skin, plur. *apmgit* (or *amit*)

Gr. *am'eq*, skin, plur. *'am'lit* (or *am'it*).

It lies near to assume that the Greenlandic long *m* in the plural is in reality an assimilation of an original *rm*, which is preserved in the West Eskimo form. If this is the case, this form has had the same fate as Gr. *irse* (Egede) > *is'e*, an eye, except that the latter assimilation belongs to one of the newest strata in the language, the former to a very old stratum.

The retrogressive uvularization, then, has perhaps already begun in a few words before the Mackenzie R. Eskimo separated from the East Eskimo, but it has not struck root in this dialect, which undoubtedly belongs together with the western dialects. The chief demarcation for this sound-change, indeed for the dialects on the whole, is no doubt the one that I have already suggested.

In the far distant past, then, the original Eskimo horde must have separated into two flocks, of which the flock toward the east, before it was again subdivided, carried out the metathesis. Since this is common to both the inhabitants of Labrador and of Greenland, it may be assumed that it was carried out before the invasion of Greenland, in the districts west of Davis Strait.

But here we are again confronted with a surprising form in Frobisher. Of the language in Baffin Land, which geographically lies between the two dialects mentioned last and bars

the way between them, he wrote down a word containing the group *tq*, where now-a-days — in Greenlandic, in the Labrador dialect and undoubtedly also in the dialect of Baffin Land — we find *rq*; it is the word for «the little finger»:

Frobisher 1576: *yacketrone* (i.e. locative: on the little finger).

Present Greenlandic and Labrador loc.: *erqerqune*, in the nominative, *erqerqoq*.

Present N Al. *yiûkutko*. NW Al. *etitkook*. SW Al. *ikkilth-kôka* (my little finger).

Frobisher's form is probably meant to reproduce something like [*i'âk'etqon'e*], which, among other things, shows that the assimilation *tq* > *rq* in this dialect had not yet been carried out in this word at the end of the 16 C.\*). This might indicate that the Eskimo who speak this dialect, the Central Eskimo, have come to this coast from the districts farther west, where *tq* is still to be found, some time after the separation of the Gr. and L. Eskimo.

If all the premises are correct, then we may conclude that the Central Eskimo have taken possession of their present territory in Baffin Land sometime between 1266 and 1576, after their Eskimo predecessors in these parts had wandered north in the direction of Greenland. The inhabitants of Labrador had probably already at that time been settled for several centuries on the same coasts where they are today. If the Skrælings whom the old Norsemen found in Markland (and

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\*) The occurrence of *rq* in the first syllable of Gr. *erqerqoq* is yet to be explained; we get the impression that it is the uvular of the following syllable that has cast its influence back on the first and produced a phonetical analogical formation (cf. Lat. *quinque* < \**peŋkwe*, Brugmann § 332).

Furthermore it is striking to find *ia* in the first syllable instead of *e*. The correctness of the traditional form, however, seems to be confirmed by comparison with the form that is still preserved in the N Al. dialect, to which may be added the following parallels: N Al. *yiöksa* cheek = Gr. *ersaq* and N Al. *yögniabwiñ* egg moon, whose first syllable may possibly be related to Gr. *it·ik* the white of an egg (-*wiñ* time, -*nia* hunt for).

Helluland?) i. e. Newfoundland and Labrador\*) really were Eskimo, they were no doubt the ancestors of those who are now living in these districts. Since the South and Middle Greenlanders, as we have seen, have probably belonged to the same flock as these old Labrador Eskimo, before they wandered north over Smith Sound to Greenland, it must have been in the course of the centuries just before 1266\*\*) that they separated from those who remained in Labrador, and followed the western coasts of Davis Strait. After that Baffin Land got the population that Frobisher fell in with, and whose language with respect to the uvularization seems to have been at an earlier stage of development than the language of the Labrador Eskimo and the Greenlanders; so this people has probably come from the west. Now if the northernmost groups of Greenland constitute together one original group as against the South Greenlanders, and if they have immigrated into Greenland later than the South Greenlanders, it seems natural to connect them with the original tribe of Central Eskimo in the west. Whether they have separated from this tribe earlier or later than the flock that went to Baffin Land is impossible to decide now with any degree of certainty. But it is tempting to see some connection between the Greenlandic Eskimos' hostile advance toward the south about the year 1400, as described in the accounts of the old Norsemen\*\*\*), and the arrival of these new hordes (i. e. the *Upernavik* Eskimo), who from the northwestern corner of Greenland must have pushed on toward the south following the coast, always seeking for new and better hunting and fishing grounds. Already at that time their language deviated somewhat from the language of their neighbors to the south, whom they here fell in with. As strangers belonging to another tribe they were at first regarded as enemies by the South Greenlanders; but in the course of time they have mixed

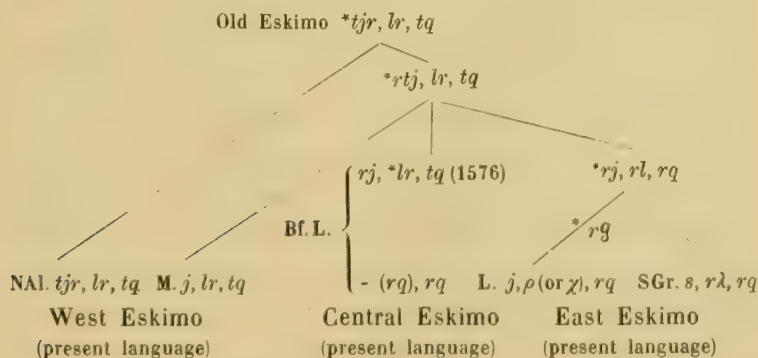
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\*) cf. Introduction, p. 18.    \*\*) *ibid.*, pp. 17, 24.    \*\*\*) *ibid.*, p. 27.

with those living farthest north (in the *Oommannaq* District and perhaps somewhat farther south), which may perhaps explain some peculiarities in the Middle Greenlandic dialect, for example  $\eta$  and  $t'$  where S Gr. has  $g$  and  $ts$ ,  $\tilde{r}$  or  $\eta$  between two vowels, which is used by the population around the *Oommannaq* Fjord where the West Greenlanders farther south use unnasalized  $r$ , and in the dialect of the *Upernavik* Eskimo themselves, the  $s$ -sounds instead of the original  $j$  and  $tj$ .

That metathesis which took place in the joint period of the East Eskimo group must needs belong to the prehistoric times of the Eskimo race. So from a linguistic standpoint it is impossible to locate exactly the home of this main group, even if we may presume that it lay somewhere along the Arctic coasts of America; all that can be said is that two Eskimo groups have moved in such a way in relation to each other that the one has settled down farther west (the one that has kept the language at its earliest stage of development), the other farther east (the one whose language is strongly affected by assimilation).

I shall now give a survey of some of the examples of the metathesis and the retrogressive uvularization in their genetical relations to each other. Those sounds or pairs of sounds that are not marked with an asterisk have been supplied with examples in the course of the preceding investigations.





There are no doubt a number of grammatical-morphological peculiarities in the different dialects which might also be given in support of these groupings; but they would require special investigation. I shall be content to mention the East Eskimo verbal suffix for 1 pers.ind. *-poŋa*, which is common to L. and Gr., whereas in West Eskimo, we find *-toŋa* (M.) and *tōa* (Al.) instead.

If we consider the forms of the words in the two branches of the language, we find that though there are certain cases where they agree, yet there are many and important cases where they differ. The West Eskimo forms are as a rule fuller and more heterogeneous than the Greenlandic forms; they are accordingly at an earlier stage of development. In SW Alaska we find very old formations along side of forms that are apparently very much contracted. As examples of the latter may be mentioned

Al. *nŭq'rhōā* (I eat) — Gr. *neriwoŋa*

Al. *snē* (its edge or bank) — Gr. *sina*

Al. *slā* (weather, sky, out of doors) — Gr. *silā*

perhaps also

Al. *ghān* (native bucket) — Gr. *iga* (a pot).

The old forms that have been preserved often help us to understand the etymology of the Greenlandic words. By way of a specimen, I shall give four inflectional forms of a verb that is preserved both in Greenlandic and in this Alaska dialect. It is the verb SW Al. *tinglūwākā* (Barnum Gr. § 469), Gr. *tił'up'ara* and its meaning in both dialects is: I strike him with my fist (I fist him). The personal suffixes, which are here translated by: I — thou (fisting), I — you etc., no doubt actually mean: my — thy (*mkin*), my — your (*mchē*) etc., since, when taken separately and analyzed, parts of them coincide with the possessive suffixes of the nouns:



SW Al.			S Gr.
<i>tingluwamkin</i>	I	fist thee	<i>tiλ·up·a<sup>w</sup>k·it</i>
<i>tingluwamche</i>	I	„ you	<i>tiλ·up·a<sup>w</sup>s·e</i>
<i>tingluwaqpunga</i>	thou	„ me	<i>tiλ·up·arma</i>
<i>tingluwaqpukut</i>	thou	„ us	<i>tiλ·up·a<sup>w</sup>t·igit</i>
<i>tingluwamthñ<sup>*</sup>)</i>	we	„ thee	<i>tiλ·up·a<sup>w</sup>t·igit</i>
<i>tingluwamtche</i>	we	„ you	<i>tiλ·up·a<sup>w</sup>se</i>
<i>tingluwaqpchēã</i>	you	„ me	<i>tiλ·up·a<sup>w</sup>s·iηa</i>
<i>tingluwaqpchēkut</i>	you	„ us	<i>tiλ·up·a<sup>w</sup>s·igit</i>

<sup>\*</sup>) i. e. [*tiηluwamtihin*]?

The noun from which these verbal forms are derived is lost in Greenlandic, but is preserved in the Alaska dialect, where I find *tingluka* = my fist. Still the Greenlandic verb is formed with the special East Eskimo derivative suffix *p*, so that it seems as if the noun must at some time have existed in the East Eskimo language. This is also indicated by the fact that the *p* is geminated, that is, it is an assimilation of two consonants, probably *kp*, the *k* having been the final consonant of the noun (*\*tiλ·uk*). With regard to the Greenlandic *λ* in the middle of the word, comparison with the western form shows that it has originated from *ηl* (as probably likewise *aλ·iwoq*, becomes bigger, grows, from *\*aηliwoq*, which is made up of *aηi-*, big, and *-liwoq*, increases, becomes more so). The possessive suffixes in the above examples begin in the Al. forms after the syllable *-wa*, in the Gr. forms after *-pa*, which represents those suffixes whose effect is especially verbalizing. Three of the commonest sound-transitions between the two languages are immediately seen on comparing the suffixes, namely the transitions between Al. *m*, *n* and *k* on the one side and Gr. *w*, *t* and *g* on the other side. Especially the last — *k* > *g* (voiced) between two vowels — is characteristic.

It would lead us to digress too far to analyze all the suffixes here, but I cannot deny myself the pleasure of taking up

just one of them. In the Greenlandic verbal inflection, it is nothing less than a riddle how the suffix for thou — me: -*arma* (for example *takuwarma*, thou seest or sawest me) has got the shape that it has; it stands in remarkable contrast to the corresponding suffixes for the other persons, especially on account of the uvular. If it had not been for the Alaska form given here, I should of course have guessed that the form had been produced by "retrogressive uvularization". But that distant old form shows us that Greenlandic -*arma* has at one time had a more voluminous body, namely one resembling Al. -*arpoŋa*. If we compare the Greenlandic doublets of the same formation, as for instance those for the word *ermuseq* — *erwŋuseq* (a dipper, a drinking-vessel), we can easily reconstruct all the phases of this assimilation: \**arpoŋa* > \**arpŋa* > \**arwŋa* > *arma*, the present form.

So it is only through the longer Alaska form that we are enabled to understand this Greenlandic suffix. And it is the same in many other cases. The western dialects have been far more conservative than the eastern dialects.

Therefore if the West Eskimo dialects should some time be subjected to closer investigation so that we can get better knowledge about them, I expect that we shall find many more differences of dialect, and those in part fundamental differences. My rough sketch of the stratifications in this family of languages will by these differences be thrown into stronger relief; they will add new lines to it and will perhaps even essentially change the historical perspective. There is as yet too little known about the languages at the extreme western limits, both on the coast of Alaska and on the adjacent islands (apart from Barnum's grammar of the language in one single district) for us to be able to draw conclusions of scientific value about the relations of those dialects to each other and to the Eskimo family of languages as a whole.

All in all there is yet much work to be done in this

enormous field of linguistic study. What I have invited attention to is only the results of a first reconnoitring occasioned by my study of North Greenlandic phonetics. However uncertain many of these results may be, yet I hope that they will at least in part be of some assistance if anyone should sometime undertake to compare the Eskimo family of languages either with neighboring or more distant languages with a view to finding the hitherto undiscovered genetical connection, if there is any, between these and some other languages on the face of the globe. If they are not in any other way connected with other languages, they may at any rate have adopted foreign elements from one or several of them.

Few peoples, or perhaps no other people in the world, have such strange boundaries to their territory as the Eskimo, living as they do along the edge of the shrunk ice-regions of the glacial period and on the northern edge of the inhabited places of mankind, with outposts in the east on the northernmost coasts of the Atlantic Ocean, occupying in the west the only point where the old and the new world meet, — a long narrow chain of primitive human beings, the two ends of which have long ago lost connection with, and consciousness of each other, but which is held together by their common and pristine language.

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NORTH-GREENLANDIC CONTRIBUTIONS  
TO  
ESKIMO FOLK-LORE





## I. Folk-tales.

### 1. Riddle.

(Sagtut, Oommannaq Fjord.)

*in·v·go'q aλ'a inuk tikiλ·uḡo | oqarpog | teregiarson·uit inor-  
pig'et | na'χa in·v·suk·āλ·arama aḡumagaλ·arik'a | a<sup>w</sup>ma oqarpog |  
siutisuarso·ḡuit inorpig'et | na'χa aḡuma·sa·rāλ·ar'k'a |*

A man, it is told, meeting another man | said: | the little *tereziarsuk*'s, can you not overtake them? | No, he answered, when I was still young I could overtake them. | Again he asked: | the little animals with large ears can you not overtake them? | No, I have no longer any practise in overtaking them.

[*tereziarsuk* is to signify the fox? The word is not otherwise known, but is no doubt connected with the usual Gr. name of this animal: *teriänriag*, with Labr. *teriaq*, a weasel, with *teriλ'uk*, a young ground-seal (*phoca barbata*), and with N Al. *terv'gūniä* (Ray) an arctic fox, SW Al. *trē kǎn' ny āk* wolverine.]

Hendrik Hugh who related this and the following three tales, which I took down in 1901 at the trading-place Sagtut on the Umanak Fjord (70° 40' N. lat.), originally came from the northeastern corner of Disko Bay, where he had heard the tales in his youth. His pronunciation of the language, at least in those tales which he dictated to me, was peculiar on account of his use of the fricative *g* wherever the official orthography has this sound in accordance with the South or Mid-Greenlandic pronunciation instead of the *ŋ* (*ng*) which is usual in North Greenlandic.

## 2. The Humble-bee.

(Sartut, Oommannaq Fjord).

*igut'aq | il'o ataseq qeqertame | unuk'ut inum'ik al'amik  
 isertusaqaq'it'oq mato map'erpoq | muk isilerpoq | kajortuin'a-soq  
 is'a: tukiņasut | inip'oq uk'armut | erherlutik inuit ersilerput |  
 isermat oqāl'āquarane | sanerqam'inut ka<sup>w</sup>torame | am.v.a' qis'-  
 ariānuag | kil'im'inut iliwa | inu<sup>w</sup>it oqarput isuw'sul'utik | so'q  
 tawma'it'oq kina<sup>w</sup>na-suālugō | erherlune nip'ine tamāt suarpoq |  
 qis'ariānuar'niarpoq | orsoquarsiniar'loq | ip'atip atarnik orsomik  
 awis'il'ugo | tun'iwat | anim'at malil'ugo | piquarsim'ut pulawoq |  
 suna'φ'a | igut'aq inop'ortoq | tūs'a nāwoq |*

There lay one single house over on the island. | At night they kept the door shut so that no stranger could come in. | Yet once there came a person in; | he was all dark red and had scowling (or squinting) eyes. | He sat down by the front wall of the house. | Those who dwelt in there were immediately seized with fright. | The one who had entered did not say a word, but after having stuck his hand into a hole in his side, | he pulled out a little ball of thread | (and) unwound it as far as he could. The inmates of the house spoke to each other in whispers: | why does he act that way? who is he? they think. Immediately the stranger calls out with all his might: | I want to wind myself a little case! | let me have a little blubber! | They took out blubber from the place under the stump-bed, cut it off | and gave it to him. | When he went out, they followed after him. | He creeps into the little case | they look at it in amazement. | He was a bee, which had transformed itself to a person. | This is the end of it.

## 3. Sun and Moon.

(Sartut, Oommannaq Fjord.)

*qa<sup>w</sup>sersuarmigo'q | il'o igalærqaq'it'oq inuit pa<sup>w</sup>niartar-  
 çigisat | suna'φ'a inu<sup>w</sup>it isera'namik | tartuin'amāt | im'inut ili-*

*sarisaman'in'amik | suna<sup>w</sup>φ'a | qatañutigrt arnar'lo aηulo | aηutip  
 qatañ-un'e arnaq tigul'ugo | pa<sup>w</sup>niartara' | arnap qatañ-un'e  
 ilisarileramiuk | ila<sup>t</sup>'ne anileriar'lune aς'ane pa<sup>t</sup>'erlugit | aηutip  
 tigung'ane | kcnatigut pa<sup>r</sup>suarmik at'orpa' | anigune qā<sup>w</sup>m'ariarpat |  
 ilisarisaqamiuk | suna<sup>w</sup>φ'a qatañutarta pa<sup>w</sup>niartara' | il'uminut  
 arnaq iserame | qatañutine kcnamigut pa<sup>w</sup>lisōm'āt kamāl'une |  
 ipara'q maneq a<sup>w</sup>margilerpa' | a<sup>m</sup>'a qatañutarta a<sup>w</sup>maqer'lugo |  
 anip'ut | il'o ka'wil'ugo malilerput | arnaq qañat'arpoq | a<sup>m</sup>'a  
 ana' | qañat'arpuk | tās'ago'q serqiner'lo qa<sup>w</sup>maλ'o ta<sup>w</sup>koρoη'o'q  
 anigrt | tās'a narwoq |*

In the big meeting house <sup>1</sup>, it is related, | a house without  
 any window | the place of the innuits |, where they used to  
 lie with each other (?) <sup>2</sup> | whenever the innuits came into it |  
 because it was quite dark | they did not know each other. |  
 What does that mean! <sup>3</sup> | a brother and sister, woman and  
 man, | the brother taking his sister | is accustomed to have  
 her to lie by. | When she began to know her brother, | she  
 once blacked her hands with soot before she went out; | when  
 the man took her, | she touched him over the face with much  
 soot. | As soon as he had gone out and it became light, |  
 she recognized him. What! her brother used to lie by her! |  
 When she came home and in the house, | her brother became  
 angry because he had got much soot in his face, | and he  
 began to light the lamp-moss (wick in the lamp). | Also his  
 sister lights something (or makes some lamp-moss glowing). |  
 They go out | and begin to run around the house after each  
 other. | The sister soars up from the earth, | her (elder) brother  
 also. | These two soar. | This is said to be the sun and the  
 moon. | These two, it is told, are those who ran out together. |  
 This is the end. |

<sup>1</sup> Kleinschmidt: *qagssē*, Barnum (§ 809): *kāzhgā*, meeting house, club house of the Eskimo village.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 297 (Drumsongs no. 22, note 3).

<sup>3</sup> lit. what that over there! expresses surprise and contempt.

4. *Nukappiara'luk.*

(Savitut, Oommannaq Fjord.)

A man had two wives, it is told. The second, when she got him, did not know but that he was married only to her. When the man went out in his kajak, as he often did, she stood and kept her eye on him. When he had stuck the harpoon into a sufficient number of seals, and he had enough to tow, he used to steer for land over toward the other side of the point. Here he was hidden, and it often lasted a long time before he again appeared. She became suspicious, and the next time he had gone out, she went over to the place where he used to be hidden. Here she caught sight of a house, and as soon as she had seen it, she went down toward it and looked in through the window. She saw a little boy running about on the stumpbed half naked. Being sorry for him because he had no mother, she went in to him and sat down on the stumpbed. When she looked about her, she discovered that there lay some meat under the stumpbed, and on the wall hung a harpoon-line. What! that was her husband's harpoon-line! He had a wife beside her and this boy here was this wife's son! She became angry, and when on looking out through the window she saw a woman approaching — the little boy's mother, who had been out gathering berries — she took the harpoon-line and made a noose of it, which she put up over the threshold in order to strangle her. Listen! now she called her son with a loud voice: *Nukappiara'luk!* When the boy heard his mother's voice, he became glad and drew near; but since he was shy before the stranger in there, he did not go up to the window, but only listened. Now his mother appeared from the house-passage, whereupon the harpoon-line tightened about her. She immediately let go of the berries which she had in her hand and died.

Thereupon the strange woman dressed the boy and let him go with her over to the house that she came from.



As usual, the husband came home and wanted to visit his wife, but found her dead — strangled — and the little child gone. He quickly set out for his own house (and found that) his second wife had taken the little child over there. He was not angry with her on account of the murder because she had let the boy live.

The little fellow grew up and in the course of a short time became strong and independent. It made an impression on him when he found out that his mother had been murdered. He developed to be a good hunter and fisher and exceedingly strong. Together with his father he went out in a kajak and harpooned a white whale, the first large sea-animal he had caught. When he had come home with the white whale — and they had finished the usual whalehide-eating, he carried his harpoon in and after having let it fall on the floor, he took hold of one end of it and said: this (the harpoon strap) ought to have had a mother! because the big harpoon murdered her, because it wound about her, I have jerked it to pieces as I was about to roll it up.<sup>1</sup> See, there lies an instrument, which has been a trap! there lies one who has got his mouth opened wide! — This is the end of the tale.

### 5. *Arnalik.*

Rodebay (Pele Madsen), Jakobshavn.

*arnalīq-oruna | pular-artomawog | iluman-ame nunaqarlune |  
ituk'ip iluanut tut-uniartarput | tut-ut ikat-ut | umiane ulik-arluqo |  
aḡer-lartarpoq ukiulera-ḡat | upernera-ḡal'o am'a tut-uniarqit-  
arpoq | pularqawim-inut ila: tikik'amik | oqarput s'ormeta-<sup>u</sup>wa |  
tut-ut pā-rutilerpat | im-aqa ersiḡisaqaleramik | arim'e ila-ne  
uk'uk-ut pisut-ut tikik'amik | oqarput narsarsu'p iserḡiane |  
ḡul-oḡiaq aḡis-orujus-uaḡortoḡ tako<sup>u</sup>arput | ta-na-<sup>u</sup>na ersiḡaloḡo  
tut-ut pā-rus'im-asut | aḡutit ikat-ut im-inut tiki-lutik oḡuluarsa-*

<sup>1</sup> It takes almost superhuman strength to jerk such a leather strap to pieces.

*ruprut | arnalik iserame aĩne oqarfiŋa | soʻrmakʻo aŋutit oqa-*  
*lutut | arna niliŋilaq | kamalerpog arne unatalerpa | kʻsa*  
*oqarfiŋa | suaŋʻoriva | qulʻoŋiarsuʻp aŋisorsuʻp nerisʻuaʻtiŋʻoʻq*  
*arnalik taʻmak aniŋame iserpog | tupime qanaŋue erqurpaʻi*  
*sanalerporlo qasʻuliorlune | etc.*

*Arnalik*, it is told, him (you know), | was about to set out on a reindeer-hunt in (the valley of) the fjord | having his settlement in *Illumannak*. | There they used to capture reindeer at the upper end of *Ituwleq* Fjord. | There were numbers of reindeer. | When *Arnalik* had filled his big skin-boat with the game, | he used to return home at the beginning of winter, | and when it again became spring, he again started out reindeer-hunting. | Once when some of his country-men came into their hunting district around the fjord, | they said: What does this mean? | are the reindeer beginning to stay away (decrease in numbers)? | perhaps because they are beginning to be afraid of something. | Quite right! when some of them once, after having wandered afoot all day, came (in there), | they said: at the entrance to the big plain | we saw a worm (*qulʻoŋiaq*)<sup>1</sup>. a terribly big one; | out of fear of it the reindeer have disappeared. | The men coming to each other in crowds, talked about it. | *Arnalik* went in (into the house) and said to his mother: | why are these men talking together? | his mother said nothing. | He became angry and began to beat her. | Finally she said: | that other one (that one out there) is said to be a bad one<sup>2</sup> | the big *Qulʻoŋiaq* will eat you, it is said! | *Arnalik* ceased, went out and came in (again) | carrying in the supporting beams of his tent, | and began to set to work

<sup>1</sup> The word is used to signify a caterpillar, but has probably been used about larger animals (eels or snakes?) in previously inhabited districts. Kleinschmidt (Dictionary p. 154) connects it with the verb *quʻurpog*, is folded together, lies in two (or several) layers.

<sup>2</sup> *suaŋʻoriva* Obsolete. The expression may possibly refer to the son: He takes violent hold. or He is a bad one when he thrashes, it is said.

to make arrows. He finished so many that he could fill two sealskins with them. The others went to bed, but *Arnalik* was still up. — The next morning when they wakened, *Arnalik* was gone. He wanders off over the plain. At the entrance he sees some smoke: | what! that is *Qul'oniak* who is breathing. | He stopped and dug a hole in the earth, where he laid the arrows he had made. From there he went over toward it with his bow and only two arrows, and when he was so near that he thought he could be heard, he bawled out loudly. When *Qul'oniak* heard his voice, it suspected that it was the man *Arnalik* and moved toward him. *Arnalik* fled away and it followed after him. When it approached rapidly, he stretched his bow and laid one of his arrows on, turned around toward it and shot it in its *ers'inu* (the place between the neck and the shoulder close behind the collar-bone). He laid another arrow on and hit it again effectually in the same place. At full speed he reached the hole that he had made, and cast himself into it. *Qul'oniak* passed without noticing him and moved on. With the arrows that he had left there he shoots it again and again, each time opening the hole and closing it again. Once when he had shot at it acting thus, oh how dark it became (*qaṇale tarpaḷāk*) down there! he could not get any opening to the daylight and now he understood that he had killed it. *Arnalik* could not come out and began to smother. He set to digging (with his hands) and steadily shoveled the earth loose. *arime*<sup>1</sup> (there you see)! finally a hole to breathe through! when he had recovered a little, he dug again, and when the hole was big enough, he went out. After he had moved along the side of the animal, he caught sight of its face, which was like a large human face — you may be sure he was frightened (*ersinaraluaqaq*)! — When he had come home, he said nothing to his countrymen. But when it became night, he said: over east there I have

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<sup>1</sup> an interjection indicating that it happened as expected.

killed *Quixunjaq*. When you have had your sleep out, then fetch it. — They brought it home, and thereafter, it is told, reindeer again came back in numbers to the district.

[In the remainder of this long tale it is related how *Arnalik* fights first with an *amaroq* (wulf) and its young, then with a *sixutvoq* (a very rare kind of seal), and then with a large bear which has its haunt out on an ice-mountain. Every time the reindeer decrease and *Arnalik* has a talk about it with his mother, who tells him the reason. Every time he returns home he does not say anything about it before in the evening and he requests the others to fetch the slain animal. But to each hunt are attached a number of different details. The tale ends by mentioning the renown which *Arnalik* wins: 'he slays the largest animals on sea and land, as besides him only *Qarsuk* used to do'.]

#### 6. Four birds in human shape.

(Thomas Magnussen, Jakobshavn.)

Once upon a time a man went out hunting. When he caught sight of a house, he went in and saw a black man on one side in there and a white man on the other side. They had a servant. The black man said: *Qroqe*, fetch some meat! when the servant had gone out, the housemate (the white man) said: it is an aperient that he will give you to eat. — Is it an aperient? — It is a loin, the loin of the last she-seal that I caught. — The white man said: *Qroqe*, fetch some meat! When the servant came in, the black man said: it is small trout<sup>1</sup> that he will give you to eat. The guest said: we are in the habit of eating that kind of fish. Then the black man became angry. The housemate said: Fetch the funny one (*stivsinag*). The

<sup>1</sup> *eqaluaq* in North Greenland also used of a smaller fish (*Gadus aeglefinus*).



servant fetched him. While he (the funny one) was on the way, one could hear his laughter (*il'arpaluwa erserpoq*). When he came in, they saw a snubnosed contemptible being with a sea-scorpion between his legs. He said: today *Irtivisuag* and I rowed after a seal, so that the blade of my oar got some cracks.

The man (who was out hunting) went out, and when he looked behind him, he saw a raven, a gull, a *Qroqe*<sup>1</sup> and a falcon sitting on the slope of a mountain. Then he understood that it was they who had shown themselves to him in human shape.

## 7. The little Angakoks from the North Land.

(*Il'umiut*, Jakobshavn.)

A place with very large houses, large rooms in them, many seal-hunters. During the winter, sometimes seals in great numbers, sometimes no seals to be had.

At one time, when the scarcity of seals threatened starvation, some of the Innuits began talking about the big angakok [*angak'og*]. He lived far away, to be sure, but since they were longing for seals, the Innuits summoned him and promised him payment. The angakok came. Night and darkness came, and they let it become dark in the big house; all the lamps were put out. The angakok was practising witchcraft. All night they keep the lamps extinguished, and no one utters a word. Then the angakok spoke and the lamps were lighted.

The angakok, having received his payment, returns home — and the hunters set out hunting. Later they come home and say as before: no, no seals have come! the angakok must have lied!

They summoned another angakok, again extinguished the lamps and made the interior of the house dark. Again there is practised witchcraft.

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of this name was unknown. In East Greenland it means a kind of sea-bird.



There were two children there in the house, two orphans. When it had become quite dark in the house, the Innuits could not see the angakok. Only these two orphans kept their eye on him. Just think! these children were themselves angakoks; therefore the angakok could not get away, but remained in the house<sup>1</sup>.

One of the children says: only look, the angakok has not gone away! make a light in here!

The lamps were lighted; the big angakok got angry: very well! just try the children, let them get you seals!

The other child said: bring me the boat-skins! They brought the skins in and laid them on the floor.

Now the two orphans extinguish the lamps and put on their bird-skin garments, then get down on the floor and run on top of the skins circling along the edge of them. Away it goes into the ground. The Innuits look for them through the window -- down there on the beach they come out -- they go out over the ice and disappear.

The Innuits wait for them.

Finally it begins to dawn. All night the children have been away; then they come back through the floor and take off their bird-skin garments. Look, they say, seals in great numbers! but none of you must get two, each of you shall only capture one!

Away go the hunters out on the ice, along the edge of the coast -- and you may be sure they caught something this time -- a miracle, the number of seals there was now! They all captured only one seal apiece.

The children relate something that is amusing. That time when they had departed and were on the way outward toward the west, they came to a crevice which it was impos-

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<sup>1</sup> This remark implies that the angakok, when he practised witchcraft, was supposed to leave the house in a supernatural manner. This is often alluded to in the tales. The angakok is supposed to go to the water-witch.

sible to get over. They got a stone laid over the crevice and walked over on that — now they saw a house and came up to it. The entrance-passageway was dripping with water. They went in. A large being in the shape of a woman<sup>1</sup> was alone in there, her hair was in disorder and she was angry. The children took hold of her and arranged her hairs and washed them. She thanked them (expressed her pleasure) and ceased being angry.

What do you two want? she said, for a long time I have not seen a human being.

The children said: in need we come here, to ask you for seals.

The woman said: Then let me know when you are about to go home! —

We are about to go home now, they said. The big woman then spoke over in the direction of the hollow under one of the stump-beds: many seals come forth! and over in the direction of the other stump-bed: many white whales come forth! The animals began to appear. When a pretty seal comes forth, the little girl (one of the children) grabs it by some of the hairs, winds them around her finger and pulls them off.

Then the big woman is said to have said: Well, now there are many! and further: in the beginning each hunter must capture only one seal; if each one captured two, the seals would give out for them.

So far the children. Thus they related. The next few days it was quite surprising, the number of seals there was! The Innuits began to be very fond of these children; for they were *angakoks*.

Once there came a woman from the neighbors in to them. My husband has caught a beautiful seal, she says and tells what it is like.

The little *angakok*-girl says: I made a mark on one of

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<sup>1</sup> This is the water-witch, *arnarquas'a'q*.

them by pulling some of its hairs off. Pay attention, let us look for it!

She spread the sealskin out. Can you see, there it is! the trace of my fingers, where there is no hair.

The visitor said: It might be a pleasure for you to own that skin! and so the angakok-child received it.

After that a number of white whales and seals were caught.

When summer approached, all the hunters went south for reindeer hunting. Here the northerners and the southerners met each other. When there had already been caught a number of reindeer, it was frequently mentioned that there was a great angakok in the south land, a rival of the angakoks of the north land.

Which has the greatest angakok, the north land or the south land?

Day after day they speak about this, but it is impossible to find anyone who will compete with the one from the south land.

Then one of the angakok-children said: I too am your rival!

The great angakok from the south land answered: You are a child! I disdain you.

The child, who wished to compete with the old one, said: If I lose, the old one shall bury me.

The southerner gets up, and all the Innuits from the north and from the south look on eagerly. He takes out a knife and cuts off his hand with it. He throws it up in the air, it falls down and grabs hold of the grass. Then he takes it up and puts it on him again.

The child from the north land now takes a knife and also cuts off his hand and throws it up in the air, so that it falls down and grabs hold of the grass. Then he takes it up and makes it fast again.

All the Innuits were struck with surprise when they saw the great angakoks compete with each other.

Now the old angakok does not want to continue any more. But the child from the north land says: Come, let us try once more! — The old one says nothing. The boy goes down to the beach where the kajak lies, and takes out the seal-lance and thrusts it against the sea. How it squirted up on all sides, just as the ice becomes in warm sun-shine. He glides out over the sea without sinking in. Eagerly the Innuits gaze at him.

When he has finished gliding, he gets up, and the northerners shout: he is invincible! — The southerners' angakok would rather not try it, but his countrymen pressed him: Well, will it come to anything! otherwise you always used to say that you are the first.

Although he does not care to at all, yet he has to go down to the beach. He takes the seal-lance and thrusts it against the sea, and it squirted up, for the present. Whatever else he thrust it against, it flew to all sides. Then he began to jump out.

The northerners shouted: Only look! the big angakok is gliding at a fine rate! — How it squirted and splashed! He plumped into the water and that was good for him.

They laughed with all their might, all the many Innuits who stood and looked at it.

The big angakok from the south land went shamefaced into his tent. Otherwise the northerners generally used to lose. So far the tale goes. The northerners carried off the victory. Here it ends.

## 8. *Perlerqojaq* (The Simpleton).

(*Niargornarsuk*, Egedesminde).

[This tale is obviously a European folk-tale which has undergone some revision in Greenlandic tradition and has got a good deal of Eskimo colouring, however, without losing its foreign character. It is of course of late origin].

*Perlerqojarum'a* | *timiusiäs'a-seqarlune qaliämine* | *unrum'at*  
*in'arput añne kisiät ilaḡalugo* | *sinilersöt as'arnersoag tikiuproq* |



qaliarło tihiṗa | perlerqujāp timiusiās:atiṗua tamart tihił:ŋo |  
 tās:alo a<sup>w</sup>ł:amik nerisās:aqaratik | aṭnaṭa oqarṣiṇa | qihāṭnu-  
 qatit perlerqojaṗ | as:arnerup inua akilerqoṗk | perlerqojaṗ  
 nunamut a<sup>w</sup>ł:arpoq | tamaṇe iherlāl:une tamaṇaṇaq torlo-  
 larpoq | as:aṭnerop inua akilerle | taṃmak anil:anṗilaq | kiṇul-  
 ermik perlerqojaṗ as:orsuaq nipitorsuaṭmik torlolarpoq | ila  
 ila as:aṭnerup inua akilerle | in:arsoṇuamik anil:āproq | inuk  
 nep:wiuk mił:iaṇik tiṇumiartog | tās:a as:arnerup inua perler-  
 qojaṃul:o tuniṃṗa | perlerqojaṗ oqarpoq | ta<sup>w</sup>nakasik sūs-  
 anṗilaq | uwaṇa nep:wiup miḡł:ianik peqarpoṇa | as:aṭnerup  
 inua oqarpoq | takōs:uāt | ta<sup>w</sup>walo nep:wiup miḡł:iaṇ tiṇumiā-  
 nut is:wiilerpa | perlerqoṃāl:o is:iṇilerpa | etc.

*Perlerqojaṗ* had some meal in his garret. He lived alone with his mother. One evening when they had gone to bed, a violent east storm came on while they slept, and took the roof with it and took all that little quantity of meal that *Perlerqojaṗ* owned with it and they had nothing else to live on. Then his mother said to him: that is vexatious! and it is your fault *Perlerqojaṗ*. Now you must get the lord of the east wind to give it back! *Perlerqojaṗ* starts off for the country and when he has got far enough, he calls out in the air: The lord of the east wind must pay! — in vain, he would not come out. Again *Perlerqojaṗ* calls with a loud voice: *ila, ila*, well! well! the lord of the east wind must pay! From a little bluff he appears, a human being with a table-cloth in his hands, which he offers to *Perlerqojaṗ*. *Perlerqojaṗ* says: that useless thing is not worth anything, I myself have a table-cloth. The lord of the east wind says: (now) you shall see: Thereupon he begins to spread out the table-cloth, and *Perlerqojaṗ* pays close attention. Give bread, says the lord of the east wind. Give porridge, he says and spreads the cloth out more. Give sweet things, he says — and everything comes. He gives it to *Perlerqojaṗ*, who returns home with it. Now *Perlerqojaṗ* spreads the



cloth and says: give bread and give porridge! — in vain; nothing comes. Then he again goes to the lord of the east wind: the cloth is no good, give me some other compensation! The lord of the east wind takes out a pair of scissors and cuts in the air with them, whereupon a number of clothes fall down. *Perlerqojaq* takes the scissors with him home and on the way he meets the old Sea-witch. Give me something to drink, he says. She answers: yes, and I shall look after what you have in your hands. When he had finished drinking he proceeds on his way, and when he has come home, he takes out the scissors and cuts in the air with them. But no matter how much he cut, it was in vain, nothing fell down. Again he went to the lord of the east wind and asked him to make compensation. This time he gave him a big hammer<sup>1</sup> and said: did you meet anyone on your way? *Perlerqojaq* answered: I asked the Sea-witch to give me some water to drink. — Then that was the reason, said the other one, when you began to drink. Do not say anything about the big hammer if she wants any pay next time, but kill her with it! *Perlerqojaq* sets off and meets the witch at home. He kills her with the hammer. Then he takes those things which the witch had charged for giving him a drink: a table-cloth, a pair of scissors and a lamb — all of it he takes with him home, and after he has gone in, he takes to patting the lamb on the thigh; immediately the money rattles on the floor. He spreads out the table-cloth; and immediately there is food on it.

When the king had heard about this, he paid a visit to *Perlerqojaq*, accompanied by his officers. What does *Perlerqojaq* do? He fills a hog's bladder with ashes and lays it on his mother's stomach. When the king comes in, he pulls a knife out and sticks it into his mother, deep down in the hog's bladder. His mother lets on that she is dead.

<sup>1</sup> Greenlandic *mok'orte*, Danish *mukkert*, Dutch *Moker*.

Why did you kill her? asks the king.

*Perlerqojaq* takes a hen and bends down to his mother's ear with it, so that it bawls out loudly. His mother rises. The king says: I should like to own that hen! I shall give you much money for it. *Perlerqojaq* gave it to him.

Now when the king had returned home he stuck his own wife with the knife. Then he screamed into her ear, but she did not move. The king became angry and went together with his officers to *Perlerqojaq*. But as soon as they stepped in, he said: Hammer, strike them down! One by one they fell, and when the king remained almost alone, he said: let me go! you shall have my daughter.

Thus it happened that *Perlerqojaq* got the king's daughter in compensation.

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## II. Old-fashioned Songs

(*iwɤertut, iwɤerutit*)

especially from the Umanak (*Oommannaq*) District.

### a. Songs and nursery-rhymes from *Iłłorsuit*

(Igdlorsuit) 71° 15' N. lat. on *Oommannaq* Fjord,

communicated by Martin Mörch († 1903) and by Simion.

1.<sup>1</sup> *aqis'eq pawane nars'a't'ä'me apuk'a't'ä'me*  
the ptarmigan up there on the little plain | on the new-fallen snow

*is.it'a'k*<sup>1</sup> | *tun'ut'a'k* | *a'upal'ut'w'ät'a'k*<sup>2</sup> | *kaj'ortuät'a'k*  
its eyes its eyelids (are) tolerably red | (are) tolerably brown

*nul'oŋ'u'aq ak'ornan'e itikul'ut's'i'aq*  
the little rump | in its middle space | a tolerably little tiny anus

<sup>1</sup> cf. no. 105 (*Arq.*).

<sup>2</sup> Notice throughout the song the use of the dualis.

<sup>3</sup> In spring (in mating-season) the eyelids of the ptarmigan become red.

This song I took down in several places, among others, at *Arqittoq* (68° 13') south of Egedesminde, where the following variants are found at the end: *nuloŋue akornane it'ia'ina* (its anus) or *nuloŋue akornane iserçiluk* (rima).

2.<sup>1</sup> *awan'iŋ'ɔ'q qil'aŋ'ɔ'q*  
up there in the north, it is related | at the sky's (it is related)

*kik'iŋan'iŋ'ɔ'q arn'e'ls'iŋuaq qōt'a'usa*<sup>2</sup>  
boundary (it is related) | (lives) the little Arnelisik | Quttausaq

*tarq'am'i'ut'a'usa*<sup>3</sup> *kiä pu'ja*<sup>4</sup> *oma puja*<sup>4</sup>  
Tarqaminttausaq | who has got her? | he there has got her

*samiutarqarma* *tal'erqis'eq'arma*<sup>7</sup>  
 because he has something<sup>5</sup> on his breast | because he has a fore-

*a't'a'liut'a*<sup>8</sup> *tiχ'a*[p] *aχ'atv'p*  
 paw<sup>6</sup> on him | listen!(?) | the male seal's | the young seal's  
*paniāta* *na'kiāp pania* *malerqāp nulia*  
 daughter (has him) | the harpoon's daughter | the roused (pursued)

*awin'eruluk*  
 seal's wife | a poor divorced wife |

<sup>1</sup> Cf. no. 101. <sup>2</sup> Q. means properly heaped measure (filled with heaped measure) <sup>3</sup> from *tawqarmiog*, the kajak-knife, which is stuck in under the cross-straps of the kajak <sup>4</sup> *puja* = *piwa* <sup>5</sup> namely: an amulet <sup>6</sup> namely: as an amulet <sup>7</sup> from *talerog* and *-isarpoq* (to supply oneself with something, take it along) <sup>7, 8</sup> these words seem to be somewhat corrupt in form.

3. *ata* *pawāŋ'a* *koŋkərtərpalut'ər-*  
 listen! | up there (in the east) | one that makes a big  
*s'uaq* *un'ua'nersuarme* *erqr'λ'araŋama*  
 noise: kongkok! | in the middle of the big night | just as I waken

*apus'uak'uλ'o* *sisə'rutiλ'arasuāloŋalo*<sup>1</sup>  
 and through the deep snow | I (both) glide down at a rapid rate with

*kala'λ'iλ'arasuāloŋalo*<sup>2</sup>  
 the snow | (and) I at a rapid rate . . . . (all the while hearing:)

*kuŋ kuŋ kuŋo'*  
 kong kong kong . . . .<sup>3</sup> |

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of this and the next word is uncertain. *sisə'rupa* = (the snow) glides down in masses and drags him with it — *-ti-* = considers — *-λ'arasuar-* = at a rapid rate -- the whole perhaps: it seemed to me that the snow glided down over me at a rapid rate.

<sup>2</sup> *kala'leq* (in plural) *kala'lit* is otherwise unknown in North Greenland. In South Greenland, it means "a Greenlander".

<sup>3</sup> This onomatopœia occurs also in the tales (cf. Rink who thought that it was connected with one of the Irokesian traditions. Esk. Tribes p. 21).

4. *eqaluäñuit* *nuliäta oqa<sup>u</sup>se* *no<sup>u</sup>ñmit*  
the little salmon-trouts | their wives' words<sup>1</sup>: | from the point

*kanäñä* *nuisara<sup>ñ</sup>ame* *jä<sup>e</sup> je<sup>e</sup>* *pa<sup>w</sup>tinijuk<sup>o</sup>*  
down yonder | when he appears | (she weeps) | look! his kajak-oars

*a<sup>o</sup>p<sup>1</sup>ä<sup>1</sup>ar<sup>1</sup>loñit* *jä<sup>e</sup> je<sup>e</sup>* *p<sup>1</sup>a<sup>o</sup>tim<sup>1</sup>i-s<sup>1</sup>in<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>*  
he has got red (with blood) | (she weeps) | his kajak-oars' edges<sup>2</sup>

*gaqorsil<sup>ar</sup>loñit* *jä<sup>e</sup> je<sup>e</sup>* *mä<sup>ra</sup>ñuane*  
them he has got quite white | (she weeps) | his own little children

*qiasartoñuit* *jä<sup>e</sup> je<sup>e</sup>* *sunaw<sup>o</sup>pa<sup>u</sup>na*  
the little ones, who are often to weep | (she weeps) | it was exactly

*kä<sup>w</sup>l<sup>o</sup>rmik<sup>a</sup>t<sup>4</sup>* *jä<sup>e</sup> je<sup>e</sup>*  
with that<sup>3</sup> | that, with which they struck him dead | (she weeps) |

<sup>1</sup> the widow's song of lamentation when her husband, the male salmon-trout, has been caught (struck dead). <sup>2</sup> the edge of the kajak-oar is of white bone. <sup>3</sup> i. e. the kajak-oar <sup>4</sup> Kl. Dict.: *kavdlormigpā* strikes against something with the oar-mountings (*kavdlog*).

The following is a variant from Jakobshavn (Thomas Mag-nussen) in Disko Bay:

The salmon (*eqaluk*) is lamenting her husband who perished in a kajak:

When he came out there by the point of land, *jäwje<sup>u</sup>*, how red his oars used to shine, *jäwje<sup>u</sup>*. His children go out in vain (to look for him) *jäwje<sup>u</sup>*, his grandchildren go out in vain (to look for him) *jäwje<sup>u</sup>*.

5. *Anto<sup>ñ</sup>uara<sup>a</sup>* *anto<sup>ñ</sup>uara* *sume<sup>pa</sup>ñoq*  
my little Anton | my little Anton | where are they said to be

*qatañut<sup>ñ</sup>uatit* *pawane* *pawane*  
your little sisters and brothers | east (up there) east (up there)

*pawanerujus<sup>u</sup>aq* *qa<sup>w</sup>luna<sup>r</sup>suit* *nunarsuä<sup>w</sup>n<sup>e</sup>*  
far far away in the east (up there) in the big land of the Europeans

*i<sup>w</sup>l<sup>i</sup>ñuaq* *susasoq* *kisim<sup>o</sup>toñ<sup>o</sup>lutit*  
you little dear one | it makes no difference | if you are quite alone



*tama'nc'toŋv'lutit*                      *ata'torsuŋ'ɔ'q*                      *ilāŋisās'uāt*  
(while) you being here | your big father, it is said | him you will be

*tama'nc'lutit*                      *om'an'arsuarme*  
able to live with | (while) you being here | in (or on) the big Oom-  
man'naq |

6. *i'a*                      *nāl'ināl'armat*                      *okal'iquaq*  
| i-a | that time when it was to be pitied | the little hare

*toqu'k'armas'ut (?)*<sup>1</sup>                      *ino'nerqor'qa'ɔ'q*  
because they eagerly killed them | it is surely not living (any longer)

*nako'nerqor'qa'ɔ'q*                      *isk qiw'laruti'k' (-lāk)*<sup>2</sup>  
it is surely not strong (any longer) | the shining eyes |

*ers'iqak'a*                      *nāl'iqak'a*  
I am afraid of them | I pity them |

<sup>1</sup> -masut for -masuk?

<sup>2</sup> dual. The adjective was first used in the plural (-lāt), afterwards with the ending (-lāk), which probably indicates the dual. — M. M.'s variation: *qiw'saruti'it* (or -lāk) seems to be meaningless.

7. *am'art'oŋu'aq aja' ja'*                      *m'ās'āŋu'ar-*  
a little one who is carried in *amaut*<sup>1</sup> | (a little?) one

*pa't'oq*<sup>2</sup> *a'ja'aja'*                      *isersuāk*<sup>3</sup>  
who is accustomed to being lulled asleep | its two big eyes

*sānimut*                      *isŋis'or'su'āt-a'k*<sup>4</sup>                      *oma*  
sidewise | two right big ones, which eagerly stare | he there

*san'liara'ŋa'*<sup>3</sup>                      *qā'ne*                      *san'liara'ŋa'*<sup>3</sup>  
he moves along side of me | on top of me | moves along side of me

*am'ās'āŋ'uaq*                      *quliwsiusās'a*  
(he is) a little capelan (fish) | which is to cook over the lamp |

<sup>1</sup> the hood sewed fast to the back of the fur coat and intended to hold a child.

<sup>2</sup> Kl. *mavsarpog*, lulls a child asleep. -*pāt*, old-fashioned suffix? = L., -*pak'pog* — is accustomed to (cf. Bourquin, Labr. Gr. p. 260, no. 25 and 101).

<sup>3</sup> dual (obsolete). Now only in the plural (*isersue*; -*ta'it*). <sup>4</sup> *san'liaq*, one who moves along side of something; spouse.

8.<sup>1</sup> *kus'äs-uaq*      *iniminit*      *anil'erqa'aq*  
the big wheat-ear | from its nest | comes quickly out

<sup>1</sup> cf. no. 13 (*Il.*), no. 59 (*Iti.*), no. 70 (*Omnt.*), no. 103 (*Arg.*).

From Jakobshavn in Disko Bay I have several variants of this song:

a. When the wheat-ear came out of its nest, it said: *ijas katuis ijas katuis s'e't tartata* take me to husband. Why do you lament your husband? him the striding one (*pisuk'a'q*), the big striding one who sniffs after worms between the bushes. — You I do not want, because you have too high a forehead, have long feathers and are short-necked. — He (or she?) is a master at speaking, is given to jesting speech, he was the one that began to speak.

b. Conversation between a wheatear and a snow-bird.

When the wheatear came out of its nest, it said: take me. — Oh, you I will not take, since you have too high a forehead and too big feathers. Ah, my children are not dirty and I am industrious at sewing. — The wheat-ear: take me, your children are dirty and you are not industrious at sewing! — The wheat-ear is a master at speaking, he is given to jesting speech.

b. Old Drum-songs from *Iλλorsuit*.

9.<sup>1</sup>      *a'jina*      *a'jina a'jina*      *kat'an'aja*  
 he over yonder | he over yonder | he loses it<sup>2</sup> |

<sup>1</sup> cf. no. 62 (*Qarj.*) no. 51 (*Iti.*)      <sup>2</sup> scil. the drum.

10.<sup>1</sup>            *malāṇ'as'u'arsuk*                                 *q'uman,a-*  
one that lays his head all the way back (strutting) | one that sits

*su'arsuk*                                      *qernertuin·arsuaq*    *ha'-ha'*  
quite crouching (hunchbacked) the big one which is quite black

<sup>1</sup> cf. no. 74 (*Oment.*).

11. *ia mān'a* *artulerpara*  
this one (or now?) I am beginning to lose my power over it<sup>1</sup>

*qila<sup>u</sup>tiŋa man'a artulerpara*  
my drum | this one | I am beginning to lose my power over it |

<sup>1</sup> i. e. I am beginning to be tired of using it (the drum).

12.<sup>1</sup> (no words) *ija je<sup>u</sup> je ja<sup>u</sup> ja je je<sup>u</sup> etc.*

<sup>1</sup> cf. no. 25 (*Il.*), no. 55 (*Iti.*).

### c. Drum-songs from *Iλλorsuit*

communicated by Simion.

13.<sup>1</sup> *kusagā<sup>u</sup>sāk<sup>2</sup> iniminik anil'εga<sup>u</sup>q*  
the naughty wheat-ear from its nest (it) comes quickly out

*wijut<sup>u</sup>! aj'a ha<sup>u</sup>ja<sup>u</sup>ja*  
wiutiu! (it whistles)

<sup>1</sup> cf. no. 8 (*Il.*), no. 59 (*Iti.*), no. 70 (*Omnt.*), no. 103 (*Arq.*).

<sup>2</sup> *kugsak* (Kl.) a kind of wagtail; *-ka<sup>u</sup>sak*, bad, damned — is used humorously as a petting attributive (is rare south of *Omanaq*).

14. *awan'aq qoŋu<sup>u</sup>jup'oq qoŋu<sup>u</sup>joŋuäloq'a<sup>u</sup>q awan'ar<sup>u</sup>le*  
the north wind<sup>1</sup> it smiles | finally<sup>2</sup> it smiles | but thou, north wind!

*u'ä<sup>u</sup>p'a<sup>u</sup>k'it<sup>3</sup> awán'aq iŋup'a<sup>u</sup>kit uä<sup>u</sup>p'a<sup>u</sup>k'it*  
I deceive thee | north wind | I slander thee | I deceive thee |

<sup>1</sup> perhaps as a proper name <sup>2</sup> *-ŋuälerpoq?* <sup>3</sup> *uä<sup>u</sup>p'a<sup>u</sup>* (Rasm. *uápá*).

15<sup>1</sup> *kilerniž'lo qim'ia qim'ik'a<sup>u</sup>ŋ'a<sup>u</sup>q awa<sup>u</sup>ja<sup>u</sup>i*  
and Kilernik his dog which they have strangled, it is told

*iž'ž'ermuŋ'a<sup>u</sup>q pitu<sup>u</sup>ž'oŋo qim'ik'a<sup>u</sup>ŋ'a<sup>u</sup>q awa<sup>u</sup>ja<sup>u</sup>i awa<sup>u</sup>*  
by tying it to the stump-bed, it is told | which they have hanged,

*a<sup>u</sup>iawa<sup>u</sup>iaja<sup>u</sup>i suk'amuŋ'a<sup>u</sup>q awa<sup>u</sup>i a<sup>u</sup>ja<sup>u</sup> it'erqum'ik*  
it is told | on the upright beam in the house | which they have let

*im'ik'a<sup>u</sup>ŋ'a<sup>u</sup>q aja<sup>u</sup> aχ'λ'un'a<sup>u</sup>san'ik nerisik'a<sup>u</sup>ŋ'a<sup>u</sup>q*  
drink old urine<sup>1</sup>, it is told | which they have fed, it is told, with

*awa<sup>u</sup>iaja<sup>u</sup>*  
twine (or hemp) |

<sup>1</sup> *akioresut*, reply (to the challenging drum-song of another) <sup>2</sup> *iteroq*,  
urine containing ammonia is used for lye.

16. *j'a·man·la·* *tuk'un·v·η·a* | *a·j·a·*  
there now | I sleep in the neighbor's house |

17. *qama· ja'je·a ja'je·a·*  
in there | . . . .

*amersōq* *isumaqāñ·ilaq* *sunanō·runa*  
18. <sup>1</sup> he with the big skins | has no sense | what does it mean?

*tikergarā·ne* *ajon·it·orsuaq* *sun'a·φ·la·u·n'a*  
when I first came to him | he was exceedingly good | but what is

*ajōrtōrso·u·wōq* *ernegaranile*  
now the matter? , he is in a high degree bad (evil) | but having no son |

*isumaqāñ·ilaq*  
he has no sense |

<sup>1</sup> *iwertut*, challenging drum-song.

19. <sup>1</sup> *n'a·<sup>w</sup>k'η·aluar'a·<sup>w</sup>k'it* *n'a·<sup>w</sup>kiun'a·rp'a·<sup>w</sup>k'it*  
I had formerly sympathy with thee | I have no longer sympathy

*qañatāñ·uarme* *ineqarnā·a·lerawit*  
with thee | in a little rocky cavern | when thou beganst to want to

*nä·k'ηijun'a·rp'a·<sup>w</sup>k'it*  
dwell | I have ceased to show thee sympathy |

<sup>1</sup> *akis'uta* the answer (to the former song).

20. <sup>1</sup> *nap·arkartāp* *ernersua* *mam'aja·* *mama'je·*  
*Napparkartak* <sup>2</sup> | his big son | it tastes aja it tastes aje

*mamaja'je·a·* *im'aqa·* *usus'ua*  
it tastes aja aje ia·<sup>3</sup> | how is it I wonder | his big membrum |

*ilik·ale* <sup>5</sup> *tix'u·l·is·up* <sup>4</sup> *nats'ermul·e* <sup>6</sup> *nerφpā-*  
my fellow-partisans let them take him to the floor let him lie

*λ'äλ'e*                      *mamaja'je'a*                      *najumasäk'it*  
on his back it tastes aja aje a that which you wanted to smell-<sup>7</sup>

*na'wak'it*                      *perqi'sarniarlutit*  
I smell it | -to make yourself well |

<sup>1</sup> *iwerneq*, challenging drum-song                      <sup>2</sup> the name means: a stick or upright staff, which turns about                      <sup>3</sup> perhaps referring to the revenge ("revenge is sweet")                      <sup>4</sup> *p* instead of *k*                      <sup>5, 6</sup> *-le* probably serves here as an affirmative or encouraging appendix according to the usage current in Labrador (Bourq. Labr. Gr. § 296, Note)                      <sup>7</sup> ?snuffingtobacco, coffee, etc.? *naju-* for *na'iu-*

21. <sup>1</sup> *usut'sia*                      *aη'op'iηok* <sup>2</sup>                      *tikiηa'ηatit* <sup>3</sup>  
Usuttia | your little husband (it is related) | when he  
*qonasiaηut* <sup>4</sup>                      *erqil-oηo* <sup>5</sup>                      *qis'ertartalika* <sup>6</sup>-  
comes to you about his neck you embracing him he is accustomed  
*s'al-araoq* <sup>6</sup>                      *aja'ja'ja'ja*  
to begin to jump about odiously |

<sup>1</sup> cf. 2                      <sup>2</sup> *-ok* perhaps instead of *o'q*                      <sup>3</sup> *tikiη-* for *tikik* (*η* a nasalized *k*?)                      <sup>4</sup> *-aηut* for *akut* (or *ak'ut*)                      <sup>5</sup> Kl. *eqipā*                      <sup>6</sup> Kl. *qigsserpoq*, jumps, vaults (without aim like children in play).

22. <sup>1</sup> *'o'man'ät-'armut*                      *tikera'rawit*                      *majoaler-*  
to *O'm'an'ätsiaq* that time you came on a visit you went  
*putit*                      *a'ja'ja'a*                      *n'o'ar'araw'it* <sup>2</sup>  
up (to the houses) |                      | when you appeared (in there)  
*sunu takoη'ilät*                      *sinituλ'iuk'o*                      *sälasor-*  
you did not see anything | but they slept there | but she lay with  
*suarle*                      *pa'isut-*  
her arms spread out (on account of the heat in there) | you also  
*ilerujät*                      *ip'arna'ηut* <sup>4</sup>                      *sinit'oq*  
began to feel her <sup>3</sup> | over the flap of her trousers | while she slept



*takoriärām'a*                      *näl·ā·narputit*                      *qīwi·uligä<sup>w</sup>·sāk·una*  
 when you saw me | you laid yourself down flat | she was thickly  
 covered with down<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *iwerneq*, v. no. 18 (note)    <sup>2</sup> *no·ariarpoq* \*Kl.    <sup>3</sup> or: to ravish her  
 cf. Kl. Dict. *pāssūpā*    <sup>4</sup> *ip·at*, the flap (the front side highest up) of a pair  
 of Eskimo trousers    <sup>5</sup> so that it can be seen on you now.

23. *qawoŋalo* | *awoŋalo* | *te·ŋasaräl·artoŋa* | *a·ril·imāk·o* |  
*tama<sup>t</sup>·sa* | *nuliäk·a* |

Both south | and north | I had got a desire for mating | and it  
 happened as I said: these | they all | (they became) my wives |

24. not used here

25. not used. cf. no. 12 (*Il.*), no. 55 (*Iti.*)

26. *säwna<sup>t</sup>·ja* *ajaj·a* *ērs·ŋinaqāŋilätit*

He down there (in the west) | a·ja ia· | there is no one who is  
 afraid of you! |

27. not used

28. *ja<sup>·</sup> ja<sup>·</sup>* | *umerlota<sup>t</sup>·nik* | *tŋusiomineq* | *ja<sup>·</sup> ja<sup>·</sup> ama<sup>·</sup>·*  
*ja ama<sup>·</sup>·ja<sup>·</sup>* |

| A part of his mustache | one (i. e. I) should like to take it |

29. not used

30. *ut·otoriartorpoŋa*<sup>1</sup> | *akut·usut ut·o·nik* | *dwan·ersorsu<sup>·</sup>*  
*aq* | *q<sup>l</sup>āwλ·un<sup>l</sup>·äleru<sup>l</sup>·jōŋa* | *o·ŋa* | *akun·iž·k·oŋa* | *sermiarsun·ut* |  
*ne<sup>t</sup>·qis·ä<sup>w</sup>·nik* | *tun<sup>l</sup>·m·aŋa* | *orsoqan·it·uŋ·uamik* | *ima<sup>t</sup>·lo* | *oqar<sup>·</sup>*  
*lune* | *nŋa<sup>·</sup>qaraλ·ŋ·ik·u<sup>t</sup>·a* | *neriŋiqajaja<sup>·</sup>·tit* |

I am on a journey to get vulvae | opened v. | (it is) a tremendous  
 north storm | I am also on a journey to the trading-place | hither  
 (I came) | interrupting my journey | to Sermiarsuit | meat | one gave  
 me | without blubber on | and thus | saying | if we had not got a  
 son-in-law | (then) you had not got meat |

<sup>1</sup> from *ut<sup>t</sup>·nik*, vulva.

31.<sup>1</sup> *m'aq'a* | *qäwkwou* | *uluarqartōq* (or *uluarqutōq*) | *a"-*  
*l'arn'iarit'e* | *at-orniäq-uarit'e* | *'uulul'ēm'ut* | *k'anilul'ēm'ut*  
*m'aqa" ja"ha" ja'ja"*

How are matters | (with) them down south | (with) him with the  
 thick cheeks | please travel (2. pers. plur.) | please take the oppor-  
 tunity<sup>2</sup> | to the mussel-place | to the place of sea scorpions | how are  
 matters | *aja* . . . |

<sup>1</sup> cf. no. 63 (*Qar.*) <sup>2</sup> or perhaps: keep on, be lively!

32.<sup>1</sup> *awa qanoruna* | *alarparse* | *tusarēna* | *nät'sersuaq*  
*iluliāq-uamut* | *pitulōho* | *toquk'a* <sup>1</sup> *uaqa* *aquwēquriarāwne*  
*kēqōwāt'aka"sāpōq* |

| How is it with him | your Alapa<sup>2</sup> | I have heard about him  
 (that) a hooded seal | to a little ice-bedecked mountain | he bound  
 it | the one that he killed | I | when he put his seal-lance in it | it  
 sprawled wildly(?) |

<sup>1</sup> cf. no. 91 (*Omnt.*). <sup>2</sup> *Alapa* is a historical person (born about 1810?).  
 He belonged to the Eskimo settlement *Omwān'ätsiaq*. v. *Atuagagdliutit*  
 1899, no. 7 (p. 97).

d. Drum-songs from Cape *Uperniwīk* (*Uperniwīup*  
*Nv'a on Oommannaq Fjord*).

33.<sup>1</sup> *ja"ja* | *quk'eäsōq'a* | *aja'ja* | *uj'äsisōq'a* | *tup'a-*  
*siusōq'a* | *uja'sisōq'a* | *aja'ja* | *quk'e'jäsōq'a* |

*ia-aja* | I lose (have lost) my lamp | *aja aja* | I am going to  
 search (for it) | *aja* | I am going to search for the tobacco | *aja*  
 I am going to search (for it) | *aja* | I have lost my lamp |

<sup>1</sup> Tobias M. said that this song referred to an event which he remem-  
 bered hearing about. There once lived an old couple in this place, Cape  
 Uperniwīk in Oommannaq Fjord, which had formerly been a small trading-  
 place. The husband was called *Inaluag*, the wife, *Unaralak*, and they  
 were both *angakoys*. They were born over on "Ubekendte Eiland" at  
*Illoorsuit*, which at that time (about 1845) was still only a little Eskimo  
 settlement. One day they took a trip over to the island together with  
 another family for the purpose of reindeer-hunting. The family they were  
 with had taken coffee and sugar along. The two old people remained in

their tent while the others went hunting; Unaralak had previously seized an opportunity to steal their sugar from them, "because he was evilly disposed toward them". But they did not notice anything and departed. When they returned, they said, "we had no sugar for our coffee up on the mountain", Unaralak began to sing. In the meantime, one of the young unmarried women had noticed that Unaralak had a piece of sugar which she was eating, and she told the others what she had seen. Unaralak heard this, and then it was that she began to sing the above song. After that she came back to the others and drank coffee with them, returning the stolen sugar. But she and her husband had bewitched the sugar in the absence of the others and those who ate any "died of it", related Tobias.

34.<sup>1</sup> *usutia* | *im'aqawut'it* | *aqo'pəpəp* (*aqo'tiŋo'p?*) |  
*tikə'aŋ'ate* (or *-atit*) | *qis'ertartaliḡä's-äla'ra'atit* | *tikera'rama* |  
*tikit'araŋama* | *nerisäŋilaŋa* | *aja'aja* | *qaq'amut* | *paicoŋa* |  
*majoartarpoŋa* | *aja* | *sorlo uwaŋa* | *qimik'a's-aŋ'una* | *nuliar-*  
*togä's-äk* | *sorlo uwaŋa* | *itoqutikä's-äk* | *nuliertokä's-äk* | *ija-*  
*ja' aja'*

Usuttia | are you thus<sup>2</sup> | your little husband<sup>3</sup> | whenever he comes home to you | you are accustomed immediately to begin to jump about ("rut")<sup>4</sup> | when I have been out visiting | when I am accustomed to come home | I do not (even) take time to eat | *aja* | up the mountain | up there | I am accustomed to climb up | *aja* | just as if I (am) the poor dog | which ruts, the poor thing (or rascal) | just as if I | (am) the poor old he-dog<sup>5</sup> | which ruts, the poor thing | *u aja* |

<sup>1</sup> cf. no. 21 (Iλ.)    <sup>2</sup> or: you are such a one, that ...    <sup>3</sup> incorrectly apprehended or written (from *aqupit* + *go'q* or *aqutiŋ'aaq* (genitive *-ŋ'o'p'*)). It probably means the same one as the singer himself: I.    <sup>4</sup> as in times of copulation    <sup>5</sup> *itoqut* the strongest dog in a team, the leader

35. not used

36. *Isiŋäl'o'pisia* | *im'ika'jutukä's-ät* | *uŋers'ä'ersu'ak'a* |

*Isiŋalluk's*<sup>1</sup> nith-song: | the rascals, who ask (me) to work for them | I will whistle at them<sup>2</sup> |

<sup>1</sup> name (of an *angakoq*) meaning: the poor foot    <sup>2</sup> "I don't care a fig for them".

37. *a'x'a'w'kata'ja* | *awa qəŋameŋut* | *tul'uka qəŋameŋut* |  
*ikat,a'w' nu'arnermit* | *a'ja'ja'*

38.<sup>1</sup> *am'a' a'ja | it'iq'uar'a | tak'orqil'ara |*

My little anus<sup>2</sup> | let me see it (him?) again |

<sup>1</sup> cf. no. 66 (*Qar.*), no. 53 (*Iti*), no. 80 (*Omnt.*)    <sup>2</sup> perhaps used as the name of a person.

39. *qan'or'λ'is'oq'ila'na | ernertarraliuna | uäut'ut 'it'ona-mik | sak'ä'λ'ut'uquamik |*

Would it would come to pass thus partly at all events would he (or she) would get a son | with something which is just like me | a little one with a poor breast |

40. *Parlosi | mak'itan'äs'ua | arnänu'λ'o | mak'iton'äs'ua us'umin'u'λ'o | al'ät | nak'ajaj'je'a' ja' je'q*

Paulus | his big (membrum) erigatum | to the women | his big erigatum one | and towards his membrum | even | he stoops aja |

41. *om'an'armio'quit | i'x'awiup toq'anut | pis'u'λ'wartar-θoqu'it | qam'a' a'ja' | i'x'awik alak'ara'hamiuk |*

The dear little inhabitants of *Oonmannaq* | over toward the kitchen | the ones who are accustomed to walk with little rapid strides | from out there (outside the window) | when they catch sight of the kitchen |

42. *aquti'qu'ke | ersinargiso'na | ut'o'ka | amet'orqam'ini amerqarput |*

But among men I am one that people are afraid of (I look so terrible) | my ut'ut (vulvae) | they have the same old skin that has always been on them |

43.<sup>1</sup> *nuk'api'u'λona te'halerama*

As young as I am | I begin to feel sexual desire |

<sup>1</sup> cf. n. 60 (*Iti*).

44. not used

45<sup>1</sup>. *amarqa·ja·ja* | *takonarpruk* | *ata·ta·rpiη una* | *pis·i·a* |  
*amarqa·ja amarqa·ja*

*Amarqa*<sup>2</sup> | do you not know it | it is your father's | it is your  
 father's | his nith-song |

<sup>1</sup> cf. no. 89 (*Omnt.*), no. 97 (*Serm.*)    <sup>2</sup> proper name meaning: a child  
 which is carried (by its mother) on the back in a hood (*amaut*).

46. *tak'orniar'i·äηoit* | *ax'iquaqa<sup>w</sup>t* | *tak'ornar'i·arpise<sup>i</sup>* |  
*umiartor·qinmut* |

The little new-sights-seeking ones | they are approaching slowly  
 (far away) | are you coming to see something new? | to Umiartorfik |

47. *a·rit ila mak'o* | *niwiar·si·äl·im'ak'o* | *ata<sup>w</sup>sertalera<sup>w</sup>·*  
*k'it samo·ηa·ja·a·ja* | *niwiar·siaqar·qion·it·oq* | *samo·ηa·ja<sup>·</sup>* | *isual'e*  
*ata<sup>w</sup>seq* |

Oh see! there we have them, these! | young maidens these |  
 when I began to go underneath them | downward | something<sup>1</sup>, which  
 was no place, where there are maidens | downward | but the outer-  
 most end of it | is alike (for them all) |

<sup>1</sup> i. e. I found something (vulva).

48. *awiniarawit* | *ut<sup>s</sup>erqiaq'a<sup>w</sup>tit* | *si'ornaη'ut aja<sup>·</sup> ja<sup>·</sup>ja<sup>·</sup>*  
*ja<sup>·</sup> ja<sup>·</sup>ja<sup>·</sup>*

That time you wished to separate | you would like to have  
 turned around again (come back again) | in the past |

49. *awoηa* | *a<sup>w</sup>ja<sup>·</sup>ja<sup>·</sup>* | *ilomut* | *qajartor·ηama* | *maka<sup>w</sup>·je<sup>·</sup>a<sup>·</sup>* |  
*up·ηiläηa* | *isor·lersuar·rurwa* | *qajartoro·sä·aη·ama* | *qaηaη·q* |  
*ke·ke<sup>·</sup> koηaja·je·ja<sup>·</sup>*

Northward | *aja aja* | surely | when I rowed in a kajak | ? |  
 I do not believe(it) | he is said to be the very outermost one<sup>1</sup> | be-  
 cause I used to row so badly in a kajak<sup>2</sup> | once in the past, it is  
 related |            |

<sup>1</sup> i. e. the foremost, the best one of them all    <sup>2</sup> *qajartoro·sarpoq*.



50. 'o<sup>1</sup>maη<sup>1</sup>usak<sup>1</sup>ās'e (or -siup) | pa<sup>1</sup>jutoη<sup>1</sup>usak<sup>1</sup>ās'e (or -siup)  
 s'arp'im<sup>1</sup>ik | p'sā<sup>1</sup>w<sup>1</sup>nik | pa<sup>1</sup>j,ōη<sup>1</sup>o.p<sup>1</sup>it | 'il<sup>1</sup>u,aw<sup>1</sup>e | sarpisā<sup>1</sup>nik  
 pīsā<sup>1</sup>w<sup>1</sup>nik |

He the little wicked one | he who brings me a gift | the tail  
 (sarpik) of a white whale | one which I am to own | your gift's | its  
 other part | the future white whale's tail | the one which I shall  
 own<sup>1</sup> |

<sup>1</sup> The meaning is: there he comes and gives me merely half of a sarpik  
 instead of the whole!

e. Drum-songs from *Itiwliarsuk* sung by *Benigne*,  
*Jellime's* mother and *Tine*, *Pele's* mother.

51.<sup>1</sup> a<sup>1</sup>·jηa<sup>1</sup> kat<sup>1</sup>an<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>·ja<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> cf. no. 8 (Il.).

52. aw<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>·ja<sup>1</sup> | s'ilan<sup>1</sup>uko<sup>1</sup> | tak<sup>1</sup>usun<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup> | upat<sup>1</sup>ηua<sup>1</sup> | kin<sup>1</sup>ako<sup>1</sup>  
 tut<sup>1</sup>unik<sup>1</sup> at<sup>1</sup>ortoη<sup>1</sup>·o<sup>1</sup>q

Fy!(?) | those outside there (in the open air) | how hideous it  
 looks | his little thigh | ? | he who uses reindeer-skin, it is  
 said<sup>1</sup> |

<sup>1</sup> who is clad in reindeer-skin.

53. ama<sup>1</sup>·a<sup>1</sup>·je<sup>1</sup>·a<sup>1</sup> t'ηw<sup>1</sup>an<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup> tak<sup>1</sup>·o<sup>1</sup>rqil<sup>1</sup>·an<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup> a<sup>1</sup>·ja<sup>1</sup>·

cf. no. 38 (Up. N.), no. 66 (Qar.), no. 80 (Omnt.).

54. ilame<sup>1</sup> | η<sup>1</sup>ata<sup>1</sup>·ne<sup>1</sup> | kη<sup>1</sup>ora<sup>1</sup>·rs<sup>1</sup>ηajut<sup>1</sup>·o<sup>1</sup>q | uwa<sup>1</sup>ηa<sup>1</sup>η<sup>1</sup>ua<sup>1</sup>q  
 sup<sup>1</sup>·r<sup>1</sup>pa<sup>1</sup>la<sup>1</sup>·ja<sup>1</sup>·ja<sup>1</sup>·

Surely | on the other side of it | (there I can see) the one who  
 is behind on all occasions | I the little one | I the very bold one |

<sup>1</sup> cf. no. 68 (Qar.). The meaning is: I cannot be seen where I stand;  
 from my hiding-place, I can see him.

55. cf. no. 12 (Il.), no. 25 (Il.).

56.<sup>1</sup> *ak'iwna·ja·ja·*

He over there on the other side! (?)

<sup>1</sup> cf. no. 65 (*Qar.*), no. 93 (*Serm.*): *ak'iwn'a*, *ak'iwn'a*; The meaning is uncertain. "On the other side" probably refers to the opposing party.

57. *a<sup>m</sup>maje·ja qanorin'a mal'e iłt·ɔrnarn'a ajoraŋa<sup>w</sup>ŋa*  
cf. no. 92 (*Serm.*).

58. *tam'an·anarne oqalut·ɔrsue aja· ilicɔrtorsue in'ue*  
*ta·ma<sup>i</sup> aŋute isumakerłutim'ak'o oqalul'arnertoga<sup>q</sup>*  
cf. no. 94.

59. *k'usäso·p iniminik anil'aqa<sup>q</sup> wiuti'o*  
cf. no. 9 (*Il.*), no. 13 (*Il.*), no. 70 (*Omnt.*), no. 103 (*Arg.*).

60. *sorlo nuk'apiul'ŋa te'ŋalersoŋa*  
cf. no. 43 (*Up. N.*).

61. *wersajwit·ɔq awaŋaŋuarlıoŋa aŋut'i<sup>w</sup>nät tamarmik*  
*'ikät'a·t.*  
cf. no. 76 (*Omnt.*).

f. Drum-songs from *Qarajaq* sung by *Ax'aite*,  
*Kali's* mother (born 1829 in *Sa'itut*).

62. *a·jŋa* (or *-ŋa*) *katuŋa ja·je·ja·ja a·jŋa ja·je·ja*  
*ja·i·ja*

Cf. no. 8 (*Il.*), no. 51 (*Iti.*).

63.<sup>1</sup> *im'aga qawk'o uluaqutv't | a<sup>w</sup>λ'arniaritse | asāŋuar-*  
*niaritse | a·kiŋ·a<sup>2</sup> | paŋ'uaq<sup>3</sup> | ersil'arta·rpa<sup>q</sup><sup>5</sup> | akisuta·ŋuaq<sup>4</sup>*  
*a·kiŋa<sup>2</sup> | nuił'ata·rpa<sup>q</sup><sup>5</sup> | a<sup>w</sup>λ'arniaritse | asāŋuarniaritse |*  
*rsaq'aŋa | neŋisaŋara*

I wonder how they are | the ones down south | the ones with  
the thick cheeks | please travel away | please love one another a  
little | he over there on the other side<sup>2</sup> | the little P.<sup>3</sup> | he appears

now and then | the little A.<sup>4</sup> | he over there on the other side | he appears now and then.

| Please depart | please love one another a little | I will swallow him | I will eat him |

<sup>1</sup> cf. no. 31 (Il.) <sup>2</sup> The word could be taken in the sense of: Answer me! but I think it is rather to be taken as a demonstrative pronoun formed of \*ake (the opposite side after the analogy of *qawna*, *pawna*, *kiŋ'a* etc., or else the interjection *a* before *kiŋ'a* (he over there to the south)

<sup>3</sup> Probably a nomen proprium, perhaps — *pa'guag*, the buoy-holder which is stuck in under the cross-straps of the kajak so that it may be held fast

<sup>4</sup> Probably a nomen proprium, meaning: the little answer, or perhaps: the little shining one. <sup>5</sup> combined with the suffix -*ḷ'at'arpoq* (Kl. -*tdlagtärpok*).

64. *krsame isiaquara näl'isiñderqarḡa*

Finally | my little drum-skin | I begin to get it in order (to use it) |

65. *ak'iwna'ja'ja*

cf. no. 56 (Iti.), no. 93 (Serm.).

66. *ama'ja ikeñuwaḡa* (or *iteñuara*) *takərḡilaḡa*

cf. no. 38 (Up. N.), no. 53 (Iti.), no. 80 (Omt.).

67. *tuŋ'ute' am'a'ja tuŋ'ute'*

It tastes juicy(?).

68. *ilame oḡata'ne* etc.

cf. no. 54 (Iti.).

g. Drum-songs from *Ommannätsiaq*

sung by *Regite*, Peter's wife, born in *Omarätsiaq*, *Eli Kutätöq*, born in *Säit'ut*, *Ribika Puäla*, born in *Uwkusisät*.

69. *i'a min'a* | *'ut'oḡup'oḡa*

| *a'ja* | I long for *utsuk* (vulva) |

70.<sup>1</sup> *kusäs'uag inimiñik an'iḷ'eqar'ḡa uw'i.ut'i.ug'a a'ja' pa'ja'ja'*

cf. no. 9 (Il.), no. 13 (Il.), no. 59 (Iti.), no. 103 (Arg.).

71. *tawa'ja*<sup>1</sup> | *'a'pɪn'm'a*<sup>2</sup> | *tawa'ja*·

| ? | there you can see! |

<sup>1</sup> *tawa'jartoq* a dissolute person <sup>2</sup> *im'a* = *iwna*! yonder.

72.<sup>1</sup> *paw'ana'ja*· | *qujanis'arɪnɪjak'a* | *kil'e'λ'e* | *ila'sa* |  
*'arqianis'arman'a*<sup>2</sup> | *paw'ana'ja*· | *aje'ja'ja*· | *paw'ana* | *pujoŋa* |  
*m'a* | *m'a* | *e'qalun'ilɛma*<sup>3</sup> | *pujoŋa* | *kimukarpoŋa* | *paw'ana*  
*aje'eja' a'ja'pa*·

(Them) up there from the east | I am accustomed to thank them,  
the little ones | but the westernmost ones | some of them | they are not  
accustomed to have me for a friend | up there from the east | *aja* |  
up there from the east | I have come | yonder | from the salmon  
(river) | I have come | I go to the west (westward) | from the east  
up there | *aja* |

<sup>1</sup> cf. no. 96 (*Serm.*), where, however, the first part is wanting; it begins  
with: *pawana pujuŋa*. <sup>2</sup> *arqiaq*, a friend <sup>3</sup> no. 96 has exactly the same  
form, which seems to be antiquated (*-ɛma*?).

73. *man'a* | *usuŋil'a'ra'ik'a*<sup>1</sup> | *e'ŋ'ertunik* | *tusa'leraŋama* |  
<sup>1</sup><sup>1</sup> *man'a*· | *ja'ja'e'ja*· | *'ana* | *ajorpoŋa* | *ila* | *ta'iniuarn'eq* |  
*uiliuarn'eq*<sup>1</sup> | *uwaŋa* | *ajorpoŋa* | *a'ja'pa'ja'ja*·

This one (him) | I envy him immensely | his song | as often as  
I begin to hear it | this one | *aja* | I | I can not (sing) | believe  
me! | the art of making poems | the art of upsetting | I | I cannot |

<sup>1</sup> < *uiloq*, a shell, *uiliuarn'eq*, to be like a shell, a shell which easily  
upsets. The poem consists of ironical remarks about the opponent who  
can sing but who cannot even row in a kajak without upsetting.

74. *a'ja'ra*· | *malaŋas'uarsuk* *qumaŋas'uarsuk* *qerner-*  
*tuin'arsuaq* | *a'ja'je'a'ja'ja*·

cf. no. 10 (*Il.*).

75. *aje'ja'je'a*· *kān'a'pa* *ja'ja*·

*aja* | he down there | *aja*

76<sup>1</sup>. *ia'ja*· | *uersajuit'oq* | *a'ja*· | *uersajuit'oq* | *ia*· | *uer-*  
*sajuit'oq* | *uersajuit'oŋ'uaq* | *uwaŋaŋ'uaq* | *uwaŋaŋ'uarliuna*<sup>3</sup> |  
*aŋut'oruna*<sup>4</sup> *tamarmik* | *ik'ata't*<sup>5</sup> | *a'ja'ja'pa'ja'ja*·

A woman who has never copulated with a man<sup>2</sup> | *aja* | a

woman who etc. | *ia* | a woman who etc. | the little one who has never copulated | I the poor little one | truly I (am) the little one of bad repute | the little one of bad repute belonging to all men | their mistress | *aja* . . . . |

<sup>1</sup> cf. no. 61 (*Iti*)    <sup>2</sup> or perhaps: who is barren, unfruitful.    <sup>3</sup> no. 61: *awaŋaŋuarkioŋa*    <sup>4</sup> no. 61: *aŋuti<sup>er</sup>nät*    <sup>5</sup> no. 61: *ik'at'a<sup>i</sup>*

77. *piŋuaqām'a* <sup>1</sup> | *sarqusa<sup>r</sup>rpa<sup>r</sup>ŋ'a* *kujāt<sup>r</sup>arpa<sup>r</sup>ŋ'a* | *tajäkra* *pärtarpa<sup>r</sup>*

My playmate | he is accustomed to take (or use) my *sarqut* <sup>2</sup> | he is accustomed to lie with me | my bracelets | he is accustomed to take them from me |

<sup>1</sup> -*qat* + *ma* == *qam'a*    <sup>2</sup> *sarqut*, especially those implements which lie in front of a man on top of the kajak, thence: anything which is in front of one.

78. *mäs'ale* | *suliäs'uk'a* *ija<sup>r</sup>* | *merque* | *iwka<sup>r</sup>lut<sup>r</sup>ut* *a<sup>r</sup>ja<sup>r</sup>* | *pūsäqisali<sup>r</sup>aruk'it* | *ima<sup>r</sup>qal'a<sup>r</sup>iso<sup>r</sup>ŋ'a* <sup>1</sup> | *a<sup>r</sup>ja<sup>r</sup>* | *nuliarc<sup>r</sup>lero<sup>r</sup>tiŋa* <sup>2</sup> | *ine<sup>r</sup>qunaralotwaq'is'oq* | *aja<sup>r</sup>ua<sup>r</sup>j'a<sup>r</sup>*

Surely | I shall have great trouble | her hair | the sticking ones | when I begin in earnest to penetrate them | thus I shall eagerly say | *aja<sup>r</sup>* | as soon as we get married | well, then it will easily be seen how delightful we have become |

<sup>1</sup> = *ima oqal'a<sup>r</sup>iso<sup>r</sup>ŋa?*    <sup>2</sup> -*leruotŋa* (for -*leruota?*)

79.<sup>1</sup> *talerqara<sup>r</sup>ak'arawit* | *imerquta<sup>r</sup>ak'atut* | *niöqara<sup>r</sup>ak'arawit* | *isŋuän'ile* | *quk'erusi<sup>er</sup>ak'oŋit* | *merqusiwit<sup>r</sup>uk'e* | *i<sup>er</sup>eqara<sup>r</sup>ak'arame* | *ta<sup>r</sup>ima<sup>r</sup>ut<sup>r</sup>or<sup>r</sup>le* | *qoŋujuk'äws'äs'e* <sup>2</sup>

That time when you still had arms | just like a tern | that time when you still had legs | but his little eyes | having something to dry the tears off them with | but just like (i. e. as big as) a needle-case | when he had an anus | surely being thus | what fun!

<sup>1</sup> There is unfortunately but one copy of this song, which is probably very corrupt. It begins with the 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. sing.; then the speaker seems to forget this and passes over to the 3<sup>rd</sup> pers.

<sup>2</sup> this expression is used especially to a little child that is laughing; it means literally: a nasty smile.

80. *itŋuara* *a<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>r</sup>j'e<sup>r</sup>ja* *tak'orqilar'a<sup>r</sup>*

cf. no. 38 (*Up. N.*), no. 53 (*Iti*), no. 66 (*Qar.*).



81. *imaqa<sup>u</sup>na | kuj'ä'ara-ne | aja<sup>u</sup>säw<sup>u</sup>na<sup>u</sup>ja | qutö.suäk-  
ik'ut | nisi'loho | galaseṣsua<sup>u</sup>t'ut | k<sup>u</sup>l'loquna | isi.suät'ut<sup>2</sup> |  
tuti<sup>u</sup>loqona |*

Suppose one did that to her | when one lay by her<sup>1</sup> | *aja* her  
over there in the west *aja* | in her big collar-bone | hanging fast to  
it | in her big navel | biting it | the big point of her foot | step-  
ping on it |

<sup>1</sup> or perhaps: how is it with her when he lies by her. Yet the other  
interpretation seems to be more probable, by which, according to Eskimo  
usage, the impersonal form (one) is understood as "I" <sup>2</sup> *ise* (or *ise*?)  
has perhaps some other meaning.

82. *a'ja'ja' tiki'arnermit | timi'a.kulwit | asukiar'le'na |  
natarqualis'uaq | i<sup>u</sup>a*

On account of storm and showers | the fulmors | let them say  
to me: do not know you! | he with the big nostrils | he over there! |

The meaning is perhaps: in spite of the snow-storm I recognize him  
(you) over there!

83. *ajät<sup>u</sup>siala'q | ajät<sup>u</sup>siala'q | kunerqajarqanak'o | i<sup>u</sup>ersu-  
a<sup>u</sup>na | ajät<sup>u</sup>siaq*

*Ajät<sup>u</sup>siala'q* | I was just on the point of kissing her | only sing  
loudly(?) | *Ajät<sup>u</sup>siaq* |

84. *amale | qineraluaru'jo'na | qimö's'imik | alupar'tersuar-  
mik | ilä'le'q | tiki'arumarmata | num'i'le | qineraluaru'jo'na |*

But again | I too should like to turn around to look at the  
sledge with the licking married couple<sup>1</sup> | various ones, it is said |  
because in a short time they will be at full speed; | surely, after  
people | I too should like to look around (after them) |

<sup>1</sup> *alupar'put*, they lick each other, is (according to Kl.) a joking or  
derisive expression about a husband and wife who are continually together  
just as if they could not be separated — a habit which is not usual among  
Greenlandic married people.

85. *qama'na<sup>u</sup>ja | i<sup>u</sup>qiler<sup>u</sup>jo'na | inu'vik a<sup>u</sup>l'anik | tak-  
un'ar'lo'na | ata'qama'na | i<sup>u</sup>q'ertarsuit | i'ala'k'na | am'arqor-  
lo'ho | qama'na<sup>u</sup>j'a<sup>u</sup>j'a<sup>u</sup>*

From in there | I also began to join in the song | other people |  
since I wished to see (them) | hear from in there | those who sing

loudly | (through) the window | which I have open for myself (for my sight) | from in there | *aja* |

86. *awa'ja krsame* | *ila'na* | *ɛʒ'iaŋ'naɾa'na* | *nä'k'isiule-qa''na* | *awa'jaɾa'' ja'ja'*

Finally | merely a part | my little throat | I begin in high degree to get something which suits | *ava' ija* |

The meaning is: finally I begin to hear them sing something which suits for my throat, so I can join in! — Perhaps this song belongs together with the previous one.

87. *ɛ''ŋ'erniarn'eq* | *nukaŋānaqa''q*

In singing | one (i. e. I) gets tired of it in a high degree |

88.<sup>1</sup> *kižloruna* | *a''ka''segaq'a' aja''* | *kižloruna* | *serqor-la''segaq'a' a'ja''* | *usc''na* | *aŋoŋ'it'oq* | *aŋus'oŋ'a* |

One (i. e. I) envies him | (because) he has a rifle | one envies him | because he has a weapon which makes a report | but now I recall | before he had ever caught (anything) | I had caught (something) |

<sup>1</sup> Seems to be an old man's song from the transition time when firearms began to be used in the district (about 1820—30, cf. *Atuagadliutit* 1899—1900 p. 98).

89. *amarga'ja'ja* | etc.

cf. no. 45 (*Up. N.*), no. 97 (*Serm.*)

90. *sakiät'a''ka*<sup>1</sup> | *asasaŋ'uak'a* | *aŋisərloŋalo* | *erqa''k'o-ŋil'o* | *aŋisərloŋalo* | *paju'k'oŋil'o* |

My sisters-in-law | my dear little ones | (both) when I have got a big animal | I think of them | (and) when I have got a big animal | then I bring them (a part of it as) a gift |

<sup>1</sup> *sakiätsiaq*, brother-in-law or sister-in-law.

91.<sup>1</sup> *awa'ja ertörtörsy'kune*<sup>2</sup> | *nät'sersuaq* | *toqutä''se pituk'a* | *nivliarsörsy'kune* | *täs'a''na* | *toqutä''se*

| That one (or he?) screamed loudly for help(?) | a hooded seal the one which caught should be killed | the one which he had

bound | to a little ice-mountain (he bound it) | screaming loudly | at  
the moment when | the caught animal was to be killed |

<sup>1</sup> cf. no. 32 (Iλ.)      <sup>2</sup> = Kl. êrtarpoq?

h. Drum-songs from *Sermiarsuit*  
sung by *Agnete*, *Te's* wife (born 1833 there)

92.<sup>1</sup> ama'ja· | qanorin·a | mal'e | ixt'ornarima | ajora'°ηa  
ama'ja'ja·

| How (is) that one there! | Malé | are you ashamed of me | do  
you think I am evil-minded |

<sup>1</sup> no. 57 (*Iti.*): am'aje'ja' ajoraṇauna

93. cf. no. 56 (*Iti.*), no. 65 (*Qar.*).

94.<sup>1</sup> *ta'ma'n'a't'nerne<sup>1</sup> | oqalut'orsuit | in'urt ta'ma't | oqa-  
lu'k'ara'ŋ'amik | ilin'k'ara'ŋ'amik | atoŋ'it'oŋut | ma'ne | up'er-  
geŋaŋa'u'wut a'ja'ja'*

Only here in this place | (are to be found) the big story-tellers |  
people all | because they are accustomed to talk eagerly with each  
other | because they behave eagerly | we who are of no use | (we)  
here | we are accustomed to have trustworthiness |

<sup>1</sup> cf. no. 58 (*Iti.*): *tam'aŋ'a.narne?*

95. *ja'ja'ja' | krsa | mak'o kɨuta'sänuak'a | nuɲusiwak'a*  
*ja'ja'ja'je' ame'ja'ja'*

| Finally | these my little teeth(?)<sup>1</sup> | I have got rid of them  
(have lost them) |

<sup>1</sup> < *kigutaussaq?* (Kl.) a tooth on a saw or in a comb.

96. *pawana puṇa* etc.

cf. no. 72 (*Omnt.*).

97. cf. no. 45 (*Up. N.*), no. 89 (*Ommt.*).

98. *al'et | nuliäs'a | ap alymät | serçalymät | kr'kr'<sup>1</sup> |*  
*sulupa p uawit'v'sars'v p ormasuak kil'ilumät | nuk'api'üt'a p*

oqak'a<sup>u</sup>ηα | πιλ'αϊμ'ιτοηα | υνερλο | αϊμ'ιτοηα | saperaμ'ιηα  
αϊση'ικ'αλυαρλοηα | sapη'η'ικ'αλυαρλοηα | ikeη'ιτιω'νιut | un'k'arto-  
rasoη'αλοηα | aliāk'a<sup>3</sup> | puās'ua'liāka<sup>4</sup> | τηηuliāk'a<sup>5</sup>

*Alet*(s) | his future wife | when she ran about (in play) | and  
when she threw wet mud about her | ?<sup>1</sup> | *Sutapaks*<sup>2</sup> | the big  
idiot's | his big heart | it was deeply wounded (by her) | he the new  
young man | he scolded me (saying:) | I am one who never will be-  
come happy | and says | that I am evil | since he had no power  
over me | although I am not otherwise incapable | although I am  
not otherwise powerless | to my friends | he has got the intention  
to tell something (bad) about me | ? | ? | ? |

<sup>1</sup> perhaps = interjection *kik'ik*, which expresses disgust. <sup>2</sup> means  
literally: sea-perch (*perca norvegica*) <sup>3</sup> the last three words are difficult  
to understand. The suffix *-ka* means: my (plur.) <sup>4</sup> < *puak*, lung  
<sup>5</sup> < *tiηuk*, liver.

# i. Songs from Rodebay (Jakobshavn District).

(Karl Olrik who communicated these songs (no. 99, 100 and  
101) to me heard them in the middle of the last century up north  
in *Ata*).

99. *Su'luti'le amerlormiut qaqajarlersarpat* | *se'la'* |  
*qaqajarli'x'arpaqase* | *ilisimanerqarpuse* | *atal'ca'* | *qaqajarlersöt*  
*qaqajarlersöt* | *nalunigaluarpāse*

Why are the inhabitants of *Amerloq* in the habit of running  
them down? | *se'la'* (a name?) | Of a certainty you (plural, run them  
down(?) | you know all about it | now listen! | the down-runners  
(the abusers) | you know them.

100. *kakajäηuarlo pa'kanuk* | *kakajajäηo'p siutiηuak'ut*  
*ke'wa'ηa* | *akili'uarlugole* | *ke'wara*

When I and *Kakajäηuaq* wrestled | *Kakajäηuaq* bit me in my  
little ear. | But I paid him back in full | (and) I bit him.

101.<sup>1</sup> *awaniq'o'q qilu'η'o'q ki'Z'liηaniq'o'q aηiliusiηuaq(?)* |  
*kia piwa'* | *uma piwa'* |  
*sa'miusaqarma(?) talerqiseqarme(?)*

*ataliusa·q(?) tiḡa·p aḡatv·p pan'ia*  
*na·kiap pania malerqip nulia*  
*aw·n·rv·luk*

<sup>1</sup> cf. no. 2 with translation. K. O. did not understand the words followed by (?).

k. Songs from *Aulätsiwik* Fjord (68° 15' N. lat.).

No. 102—104 written down in *Arqittoq* at the dictation of a woman *Mikisuluk*, born 1845 in *Aulätsiwik*; no. 195—107 modern songs communicated by her daughter who sang them for me in addition to several others in a similar modern style.

102. *inoaruk·iḡaḡuin·ṡ·q* *auḡ·aliḡo·sarput*

The little dwarfs, it is related | they made little preparations for the

*a·* *pa·tonasoarput* *qimap·arput*  
 departure | (recitative ah) our big out-stretched skin<sup>1</sup> we leave it

*sv·p amea* *kusa·p amea*  
 whose skin the wheat-ear's skin

<sup>1</sup> generally about a sealskin which is stretched out by being fastened between pegs stuck in the ground.

103.<sup>1</sup> *kinato·q uiḡilara·* *qa·rtusup*<sup>2</sup>

Whom can I get to husband<sup>1</sup> | him with the lofty forehead | him with

*merqortusup*<sup>2</sup> *qa·rl·ḡ·asoq* *uwaḡa*  
 the many hairs (the shaggy one) | him without trousers | me |

*uiḡ·iḡa* *qartusona*  
 will you have me to husband? | I who myself have a lofty forehead |

*merq'ortuson'a* *qa·rl·ḡ·as'orso·eson'a*  
 I who myself am having many hairs | I who myself am without trousers

*ṡ·ḡ·ṡ·t* *uḡikumaḡilan·ṡ·k* *qa·rtonaḡv·t*  
 | you | I do not want you to husband<sup>3</sup> because you have so lofty a

*merqortonaḡv·t* *qa·rl·ḡ·as'or-*  
 forehead | because you have so many hairs | because you are



*so'ḡaw'et*                      *oqaqār'sinarlune*                      *oqaluḡar-*  
completely without trousers | just as she said that at the same

*sin'arlune*                      *qa'uḡ qa'uk*  
moment as she related that | (the bird's screech?)

<sup>1</sup> cf. no. 8 (*Il.*), no. 13 (*Il.*), no. 59 (*Iti.*), no. 70 (*Omnt.*)    <sup>2</sup> or: who is it anyway that I have to husband!    <sup>3</sup> genitive sing.

The meaning of this song becomes clear by comparing it with no. 8. It is a conversation between a wheat-ear and a snow-bird.

104. *tuluara*                      *sunar'na*                      *kim'iarpiuk*  
my raven what is that that you have in your beak?

*inup*                      *qut'ora*                      *so'rme*                      *tam'us'iniliḡa*  
a human being's | his thigh | why do you not give me a piece of

*erḡak'o*                      *taqaḡ'iwkak'o*  
it to chew (eat) | an old (discarded) pot<sup>1</sup> | when I (tasted?) it

*i'n'ap atarne*                      *qa'jotāk*                      *qauk qauk*  
at the foot of the slope a ladle (the raven's screech)

<sup>1</sup> or: the remains of beams in a wall?

This song seems to be a variant of the following song from Smith Sound:

A Raven flew by, above a person, carrying something in his beak. "What have you in your beak, Raven?" the person asked. "A man's thigh bone" the Raven answered "I eat it because I like it. I shall swallow it".

(A. L. Kroeber: Animal Tales of The Eskimo. Journ. Amer. Folk-Lore. Vol. XII, 1899).

105. cf. no. 1 (from *Oommannaq*)

106. *uwaḡa mak'ua usorisak'a unaqutik'it usorisak'a awigaluarlutik utsertartut*

I envy those who have a sweetheart; I envy those who, even if they have separated from each other return again.

[I also took down a variant of this song at Jakobshavn; there the last word in the song was:]

*katit'artut*, those who are in the habit of uniting.

107. *ikatiñeqarra piumasovsarlonο ikatiñeqarra siulermik  
quq'at tunuane kinulermik umia atane ikatiñeqarra piuma-  
so'sarlonο ikatiñeqarra kusät'alap inarta kanjusäñuäne kitius-  
äñuäne ikatiñeqarra*

I caressed her and trifled with her, letting on as if I wanted her (to wife), first behind the cliffs, last time under the umiak (the big skin-boat); I caressed her by the wheat-ear's nest, a little east of it — a little west of it.

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### III. Children's Games and Rigmaroles.

No. 1—10 (with the exception of the variants) communicated to me by Thomas Magnussen, Jakobshavn, no. 11 by *Pele* Madsen, Rodebay, no. 12 by *Kattak* Reimer, *ibid.*, no. 13 by Karl Olrik, *ibid.*

#### 1. *arsarta! qa' arsaqis'a!*

Let us play ball! — Yes come, let us play ball! we choose sides — I toward the east — I toward the west (toward the south and the north) — there are too few of us — there are enough of you — then we must exert ourselves — we have won, we have taken their land, we have undressed them (*mat-ar-pawut*) — we have taken our land back, we have got into our clothes again — you must parry correctly, you must push with the shoulders, not overthrow with the hands — away with it (i. e. the ball), I follow you, I shall be on guard at the end of the field (*aqut-oq*), you are to lead the way!

#### 2. *seqinius'arta! qa'!*

Let us play sun! yes, I shall be the sun — I shall be the sun — I shall be the moon — to the sun or to the moon?

#### 3. *arpat'agiarta! ja'jort'erta! pat'at'a!*

Let us run from goal to goal! let us clap! you must help me — run in — you run out — run well out of the way (like an animal that is shy) — *täs'a<sup>u</sup>set milortis'rtit* you must be the one that throws the ball at them!

#### 4. *nuwerta!*

Let us play *nueq* (a kind of arrow used to shoot birds with)!

I shall be *nuφ·is·aq*<sup>1</sup> (the wood that is used for such an arrow?)  
*nuwe nuwe nuwe!*

<sup>1</sup> This word generally signifies the cord or line on which something is strung; especially: a short strap with a cross-peg on one end and a pointed piece of bone on the other end to string the fish on that have been caught. (Kl. Ordb. p. 256).

5. *qaja·<sup>u</sup>titse·rta qaja·<sup>u</sup>titse!*

Let us see who shall be *kajak*! (or who has perished in a *kajak*?) you are the *kajak* (or: you have perished in the *kajak*)  
 — you step back!

6. *qilaluwa·s·arta* (occasional game?)

Let us play white-whale! — yes come, let us play with toy harpoons (*nar·ligarta*); you shall be my buoy! the *kajak* makes a spurt toward the whale, lifts the harpoon in order to throw it, he harpoons it.

7. *pi·uarta il·erus·ar·luta* (occasional game)

Let us play that we have a stump-bed (a house) — you shall be my husband and you shall be my son. Fetch some food! — Let us play that you two are out hunting: my husband is towing a captured seal, he has caught a harp-seal, they say, go down to the beach and drag it up for him! — Your husband is fortunate to catch so much. — Ah your son has caught a white-whale, your husband has got the side-piece for his share, his younger brother has got the paw....

8. *is·ita·arta!*

Let us play *issittaiag* (the game in which the children hold each other's hands and form a circle around one of their number who half way squats down in the middle. This one (*is·it·oq*) is to try to touch the others with his backside; the one who is touched has to take his place in the middle, and thus the game continues) *uwana is·ius·v·na*: I shall be the one that squats down — (they sing:) *no·np·p awata·ne is·ita·ja pap·ata·ja*

Variant from *Oommanaq*:

*Noηv̄p awata·ne is·ita·ja pap·ata·ja*  
*is·eqis·a·q pap·aqis·a·q*  
*pinerniηudq tiηujuma·rpa· pinarisersuarput*

Variant from *Rodebay*:

*is·ita·ja pap·ata·ja*  
*tamawta is·eqis·a*  
*tamawta pap·aqis·a (or tamawta pulaqis·a)*

9. *it·eqan·isarta, it·eqan·isar* etc.

10. *tv·lian·ta·rta qa·!*

Let us play *tv·lian* (i. e. decide who is to be it by counting out)

*tv·lian tv·lian tv·lianta·*  
*wiηile· wiηile· wiηilista·*  
*v̄kut·a·le mak·e parnale·rpa·*  
*per̄putit perit* (go out of the circle!)  
*v̄male· at·orma·ηa·*  
*uφ·ale uφ·ale pup·v̄tit*

Variant from *Oommanaq*:

*tv·lian tv·lian tv·lianta | φiηili φiηili φiηilista· | o·kota·li*  
*maqapa·ηale·rpa·ηa | per̄putit perit | o·male at·orma·ηa | uφ·ale*  
*uφ·ale perit*

Variant from *Rodebay*, see the following number.

The beginning of the rigmarole seems to be a Greenlandic rendering of the Danish counting-out rigmarole: "ullen dullen doff, fingel, fangel foff etc." The rigmarole is also said to be known in South Greenland; it seems to have passed completely over into the little Greenlanders' language.

11. *ersuk·iηa·t·ut*, those who hide themselves.

*tv·lian tv·lian tv·lianta | φiηili φiηili φiηilista o·kota·le mak·i-*  
*panale·rpa· | per̄putit perit.*



[My informant added the following:] when they have all been counted out of the circle with the exception of two, the one who counts out says to the other one: *aꝑe ił'it puŋit* (you are monkey, stoop!); he must stoop down so that he cannot see anything. Then all the others run away and hide. Thereupon he opens his eyes and begins to seek for them. If after some time has passed he still cannot find them, he must say: *ko'kojoꝛrle*. As he listens, he will hear (as answer): *ko'kojoq* (or: *kokojuk*). When they act in this way, he will gradually find the others.

## 12. The fingers.

*kuł'oq v'ma ił'erniarit qajartortut qimalerpartit*  
you thumb there, wake up! the kajak-rowers are about to leave you!

*tikeq v'ma ił'erniarit umiartortut qimalerpartit*  
forefinger there, wake up! the umiak-rowers are about to leave you!

*qit'erleq v'ma ił'erniarit qisut'artut qimalerpartit*  
middle-finger there, wake up! the wood-gatherers are about to leave you!

*mikileraq v'ma ił'erniarit nuniagiūt qimalerpartit*  
ring-finger there, wake up! the berry-gatherers are about to leave you!

*eğerqoq v'ma ił'erniarit parnaqutitaraiūt qimalerpartit*  
little-finger there, wake up! the crane-heather-gatherers are about to leave you!

## 13. Nursery-rhyme.

*ał'unar'suaq kit'orał'armat nujar'oq atawoq*  
the big leather strap | when it burst | a hair, it is related, | it held;

*atawoq taman'a*  
it holds (is hanging together) | this:

(quickly) *iluliaminiŋ'uaq* (pause; in lower voice:) *tinupaniŋ'ua*  
a little tiny hummock a little swelling<sup>1</sup>

(quickly) *iluliaminersuaq* (pause; in lower voice:) *tinupanersua*  
a big hummock a big swelling<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> a swelling either on the ground (knoll) or on the body.

#### IV. A Letter written by a Greenlander.

(The original is appended in autotype.)

In the first line, I give the words of the letter in the writer's own orthography, under that, my phonetical transcription of the words, and under that again my translation. Since the original is not altogether easy to decipher, three processes of interpretation are necessary in order to get at the translation: the interpretation of the letters of the original, of the phonetical value of the letters\*), and of the Greenlandic words. It is but natural that it must occasionally remain problematical if the writer's meaning is exactly reproduced in the translation.

Words of the original: *asasara* *takusimasaralu*  
 Phonetical transcription: *as<sub>1</sub>äsar<sub>1</sub>a* *takusimasaralo*  
 Translation: my dear and whom I formerly used to see

<i>ilesematuk</i>	<i>alakatit</i>	<i>tegnwakka</i>	<i>kujaugalu</i>
<i>ilisimat<sup>o</sup>q</i>	<i>ał'ak'atit</i>	<i>tegnwak'a</i>	<i>quja<sup>w</sup>ηalo</i>
man of science	your letter	I have received it	and I thank (you)

<i>Nuvabar 3</i>	<i>alakatet tamasa</i>	<i>basiraka</i>	<i>imaka</i>
<i>nuvampare pηajuat</i>	<i>ał'ak'atit tama<sup>t</sup>sa</i>	<i>pa'siwak'a</i>	<i>m'aqa</i>
the third of November <sup>1</sup> )	all that you wrote	I understood it	perhaps

<i>waga alakaka</i>	<i>basisagenibatit</i>
<i>w<sup>o</sup>ηa ał'ak'ak'a</i>	<i>pa'sisan<sup>η</sup>m'erpatit</i>
what I here have written	you will possibly not understand it

\*) I give a phonetical transcription of the words of the letter, as I used to hear them pronounced anywhere in North Greenland and as the letter-writer himself probably would have pronounced them. Yet I dare not guarantee that he has no dialectal peculiarities which have remained unknown to me.

<i>alakunama</i>	<i>takusunek</i>		
<i>al'aquḡāṃ'a</i> (?)	<i>takusimasunik</i> (?) †		
since you asked me to write	about something (funny) to see(?)		
<i>uvaga namirik</i>	<i>sumi takusakagelanga kisejanimi</i>		
<i>uwaḡa na'mik</i>	<i>sumi(k) takusaqāḡilaḡa kisi'ān'ime</i>		
I nothing anywhere	not anything at all have I seen but (other)		
<i>inuit</i>	<i>atasejugetut</i>	<i>kevetunik takusut</i>	
<i>inuit</i>	<i>ata<sup>w</sup>si'oḡit'ut</i>	<i>qiwit'unik takusut</i>	
Greenlanders	being not one (i. e. several)	having seen Qiwittoqs <sup>2</sup> )	
<i>tusatabaka</i>	<i>kisejane</i>	<i>kusataresamilunet</i>	<i>kilifamelunet</i>
<i>tusartarpak'a</i>	<i>kisi'ān'e</i>	<i>kus'atarisamil'v'n'rt</i>	<i>kiliḡ'amil'v'n'rt</i>
I often hear about them	but	either Kussatariags	or Kiliwfaqs
<i>amakumilunet</i>	<i>kukurijamelunet</i>	<i>takusunek</i>	<i>tusanek</i>
<i>amarqumil'v'n'rt</i>	<i>ku'kor'i'amil'v'n'rt</i>	<i>takusimasunik</i> (?) †	<i>tusarneq</i>
or Amaroqs	or Koukoriags <sup>3</sup> )	about them being seen	I have
<i>ajupuga</i>	<i>kesejani</i>	<i>kalunat</i>	<i>agalakigamik umejasuvamik</i>
<i>ajorpuḡa</i>	<i>kisi'ān'e</i>	<i>qā'l'una't</i>	<i>aḡalaqḡamik umi'arsu<sup>w</sup>armik</i>
never heard	but	the Europeans	who wander far and wide on their ships
<i>imaka</i>	<i>kugutataresamek</i>		
<i>im'aga</i>	<i>quḡus'utaris'amik</i>		
perhaps (they have seen)	<i>Quḡussutariags</i>	(mermen and mermaids)	
<i>inuseb</i> ††	<i>nalaganik</i>	<i>takusukasemajonasebut</i>	<i>uvaga</i>
<i>inuseb</i>	<i>nalḡanik</i> (?)	<i>taku<sup>w</sup>s'ukasimajon'arsip'ut</i>	<i>uwaḡa</i>
of a big man's size	they no doubt look confounded	ugly.	I
<i>suli</i>	<i>inukutegesakalu</i>	<i>tamata</i>	<i>suvaḡelagut ileme kanuk inebet</i>
<i>sule</i>	<i>inoqutḡisak'alo</i>	<i>tama<sup>w</sup>t'a</i>	<i>su'waḡilaḡut il'ime qanoq in'erprt</i>
still	and my housemates	we all	we are well you how are you?
<i>kemakategut</i>	<i>ikatutapategit</i>	<i>uwatinut</i>	<i>ajugeb</i>
<i>gimak'a<sup>w</sup>t'ḡut</i>	<i>ergartortarpa<sup>w</sup>t'ḡit</i>	<i>uwa<sup>w</sup>t'in'ut</i>	<i>ajun'im</i> (?)
after you had left us	we used to talk about you	to us	good (well)

† or \*takusunik? †† or *inasub* = *i<sup>w</sup>n'as'v'p*, a steep mountain's.

<i>alakegavet</i>	<i>kesesejane</i>	<i>nalunakusaraluvatet</i>
<i>aλ'arqηawit</i>	<i>kis'iin'e</i>	<i>nāluna*rgusaralu<sup>w</sup>atit</i>
because you have written again	but	what you otherwise asked for information about

<i>buveuragek</i>	<i>nalulerakit</i>
<i>puwioraηik(?)</i>	<i>nalulerak'it</i>
because I have forgotten it	I scarcely know it anymore

<i>nalunagelaka</i>	<i>ikebalagemata</i>
<i>nalunaη'ilak'a</i>	<i>ikip'aλ'aη'im'a</i>
I know about them <sup>4)</sup>	that they have not been few

<i>uwaga kesema</i>	<i>benejalugaguwaka</i>
<i>uwaηa kisima</i>	<i>pini'arlu(η?)āη'uak'a †</i>
mine only	the few (or small) ones which I have caught poorly

<i>bujugelaka</i>	<i>atat 2</i>	<i>natit 9</i>
<i>puuη'ilak'a</i>	<i>a'tat marluk</i>	<i>nātsit gula'duāt</i>
I have not forgotten them	harp-seals two	flee-rats ( <i>phoca foetida</i> ) <sup>1)</sup>

<i>tesemebor(?) 29-nek</i>	<i>tegugaluvaraket</i>
<i>tāstm'po(?) 29-nik</i>	<i>tηuηalu<sup>w</sup>arak'it</i>
here are 29 <sup>5)</sup>	those I have caught, to speak of it <sup>6)</sup>

<i>asvtut</i>	<i>inuluwkuvakit</i>	<i>ama</i>	<i>nulijama</i>
<i>aς'ut?</i>	<i>inu'luarqu<sup>w</sup>ak'it</i>	<i>a'm'a</i>	<i>nuli'ama</i>
eagerly(?)	I bid you live well (greet you)	also	my wife

<i>insijane</i>	<i>inuluwakuwa</i>
<i>in'isiane</i>	<i>inu'λ'u<sup>w</sup>arquwa'</i>
her house-guest	she greets him

*Sakarijas inugsuktuk*  
*sakari'as inu'sut'oq*  
 Sakarias Inūgsugtoq <sup>5)</sup>

† or *piniaraluāηuak'a?* †† or *\*asatut*, lovingly?

## Notes.

1) Is perhaps the date of the letter he is writing and is perhaps written first.

2) Ghosts. Means literally people who on account of shame or resentment have moved away from other people and live as recluses out in the mountains. The Greenlanders have a panic fear of them, about whom there are many tales.

3) Some of the many monsters of the folktales. There is probably some actuality at the bottom of most of these ideas, for instance reminiscences of animals which the Eskimo have known in their earlier home-lands. *amarog* is still the word for wolf in America, but this animal is not found in the inhabited part of Greenland and is therefore never seen. *kiliwfaq* is the name given by the Point Barrow Eskimo to the mammoth which is now known only in fossil form. (Ray: Point Barrow Expedition p. 54.)

4) i. e. about the captured sea-animals.

5) The Eskimo arithmetic is at a very low stage of development. This may be a slip of the pen, but I consider it quite probable that Saka for the moment has got 29 out of  $2 + 9$ .

6) i. e. if that is worth mentioning.

7) Christianized Greenlanders generally receive in baptism a Danish family name and a Danish (European) Christian name. There are only very few families in Greenland who like this one, bear a pure Greenlandic family-name. *inv'sut'og* means the young one.

*Sakarias* was an old Eskimo and a practised seal-hunter who lived in the settlement *Arqittoq* on *Aulätsiwik* Fjord (south of Egedesminde). When I was in his house, there dwelt his four married sons and their children, besides his wife and a couple of female relatives. I stayed there for about 14 days. — I received the letter the year after my return from Greenland.

The orthography in the letter indicates that *Saka* no doubt remembers the value of the letters of the alphabet from the time when he went to school, but he employs them in his own way for his own original orthography, which is based on nothing else but his own pronunciation. He has either forgotten or perhaps never learned the artificial orthography used by the missionaries. That his knowledge of the letters of the alphabet goes a good many years back (about 50 years) may be seen from his use of *b* instead of *p* (*b* has long been out of use in Greenlandic orthography) and the absence of



any distinction between *k* and *q* in his writing. What I especially want to call attention to is this:

1) He makes no distinction between *g* [g] and *ng* [ŋ], although he must have learned in school to use the letters *ng* for the latter sound: he writes *g* everywhere; in other words, as a North Greenlander, he makes no difference between those two sounds in his pronunciation, but pronounces [ŋ] where the South Greenlander would pronounce [g]. In a similar way, he writes *b* in *Niwabar* (November) for the corresponding nasal (*m*).

2) Just as he only has one symbol for *k* and *q*, he has only one symbol for *l* and *λ*, although in his pronunciation, he of course makes a distinction between the two sounds. His feeling that *λ* is a single sound is more correct than the *dl*, *tl*, *gdl* of Kleinschmidt's orthography.

3) Just as he uses *b* or *p* at random, there seems to be no rule for his use of the vowels *e* and *i*, *o* and *u*.

4) He indicates no modifications of the vowels, neither labialization (*a<sup>w</sup>*, *i<sup>w</sup>*, *u<sup>w</sup>*), palatalization (*a<sup>i</sup>*) nor uvularization. Especially the last of these omissions is of interest. He does not write *ar*, *er*, *or*, but merely *a*, *e*, *o*, (or *i*, *u*), and this is no doubt because he does not hear any *r* after the vowel in these cases, but correctly feels the sound *ar* etc. to be a whole.

5) He does not indicate the quantity of the sounds except once (*teguwakka*, *kk* = [k']).

6) The hiatuses *ea*, *io* are filled by a *j*, *ua*, *ue* by a *v*, which are glide-sounds testifying to his slow manner of pronouncing.

7) Only his own name is spelled according to the conventional orthography (*gs*, *kt*).

## V. Decoy-Sounds.

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When the Greenlander is out fowling or seal-hunting, he often has a practise of enticing the game over toward him by imitating its natural sound (song, scream etc.) and thus calling it, as it were. For instance, I have often heard and seen a Greenlander calling from the strand to the young gulls out over the sea, swinging the wing of a gull in one hand while he holds his gun ready in the other. Each kind of bird is decoyed with its special sounds. The singing and piping of the small birds too, although they are not sought after as game, are imitated in a definite manner, perhaps especially by the children or for the children's sake.

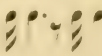
These natural sounds which have thus been adopted in human speech from the language of animals furnish an interesting contribution to phonetics. Of course like other loan-words in the language, they undergo some change in adapting themselves to the Greenlander's customary basis of articulation: but the following specimens will show that in many or in most cases he has trespassed beyond the normal limits of this basis and has resorted to extravagant sounds in order to approximate as near as possible to the sounds of the birds and the seals. In comparison with us, the Eskimo is undoubtedly an authority when it comes to an exact imitation of the sounds made by the animals in his native-land. The following little collection of decoy-sounds I wrote down exactly as they were reproduced for me by *Karwartaq* a quick-witted Eskimo and the best sealer at the settlement of *Oommannätsiaq*. It was no easy task. I am sorry that my reproductions only can

give a very vague notion of the real character of these strange sounds; it was difficult to analyze them, it was still more difficult to find satisfactory ways of expressing them. But still I think it will appear from my descriptions of the specimens that this "language" (anthropo-ornithological etc.), from a phonetical point of view, combines distinct peculiarities of the Eskimo language with foreign elements. Notice the constant use of uvular and even more "back" articulations. The Eskimo has heard the sounds of his own language in the sounds of the animals. Sometimes it has even occurred to me that perhaps, on the other side, his language may have been influenced in the course of time by the constant use of these decoy-sounds. Many hours of a roving Eskimo hunter's life are devoted to repeated practice in these extreme articulations. They are forcible sounds, intended as they are for the open spaces of free nature and for incessant repetition, as the animals use them.

The auk (*apraq*) has two screams: 1. [*har<sup>em</sup> har<sup>em</sup>*] <sub>R</sub> = trilled point-r; <sup>em</sup> weakly voiced. Falling musical accent on *a<sub>R</sub>*, about from A to F sharp. 2. [*q'egeqegeqer q'egeqegeqer*], with the point of the tongue resting between the upper and the lower teeth. Throughout the whole word, chromatic falling of the tone about from A to D.

The black-backed gull (*na<sup>n</sup>ja* or *na<sup>n</sup>jaq*, plur. *na<sup>n</sup>jät*).

The young gulls: [*d<sub>R</sub> d<sub>R</sub>*]  = strongly trilled uvular *r*. *d* is perhaps unvoiced, the rest of the word voiced, beginning about with the tone c, from there chromatically falling one tone.

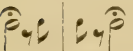
The old she-gulls: [*qut<sup>s</sup>e'q qut<sup>s</sup>e'q*]  F A G sharp.

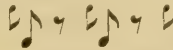
The scream of the other gulls is reproduced as [*kʷʷ*], unvoiced throughout, namely [*kʷ*] whispered, [*ʷ*] whistled in a


chromatically falling tone, of some gulls as [qaj'a²] or [qaj'a¹] with wide opening of the lips, and voiced.

The ptarmigan (*aqis'eq*).





The she-ptarmigan (*aqis'eq arnawiaq*), when she calls her young: [ʼɛ· | ʼɛ·] with a singing or screeching falsetto voice, beginning with a glottal stop and then chromatically falling to the pause (here indicated with a stroke | ). — Also short [ɛ̃ ɛ̃] with nasalization.

The he-ptarmigan (*aqis'eq aṇutiwiaq*): [ʼa··ā² | ʼa··]  glottal friction throughout, beginning and ending with the stop; so the sound is neither whispered nor voiced (in the usual sense of the word), but is in reality a guttural sound produced in the larynx. The lips wide open, the point of the tongue at rest a little above the lower teeth. It is a sound which is otherwise quite foreign to the Greenlandic language.

The young ptarmigan (*aqis'ip piara'*): *t* (whistle) *t* (whistle) *t* (whistle)  i. e. 3 times a short, falling whistle (from A to G), which begins each time with the point of the tongue striking against the back side of the upper front teeth, and whose close each time seems to be accompanied by a glottal stop. The whole combination of course voiceless.


Kittiwake or three-toed gull (*tat'seraq*, plur. *tat'sera'it*, *larus tridactylus*): [takat's'e·q takat's'e·q qvq]  with a high falsetto voice.

The seal, especially the common seal (*phoca foetida*), is decoyed in several ways, of which the most characteristic can scarcely be reproduced by sound-symbols; it may perhaps approximately be given as [qao²] or [qo²], uvularized and voiceless throughout; first large, rounded lip-opening, which is gradually drawn together as if for a closed *o*; the tongue is strongly pressed together against the background of the mouth. The sound is produced by the violent expulsion of the breath,

which creates resonance in the mouth in the same way as when one blows over the edge of a jar with a little opening or into a shell. This sound is considered especially difficult to imitate. — The same kind of seal may also be decoyed by the sound which is produced when the mouth is filled with air which is then expelled through the tightly closed lips. — A third decoy-sounds for seals is  $k^{(whistle)} k^{(whistle)} k^{(whistle)}$      etc. (G sharp — F sharp), with rapid tempo; first a whispered  $k$ , then a short, falling whistle, both slurred.

In how far reindeer and sharks are decoyed by sounds I was unable to find out. — But *Karwartaq* gave me a number of sounds for such birds as are only seldom hunted, namely for

The raven (*tuluwaq*): [*qao qao*] (A — F sharp) with a trilled uvular  $q$ .

The wagtail (*kusāk*, Kl. dict. *kugsak* or *kugsagtak*): [*hwit dsd dsd dsd dsd dsd*]  voiceless, the first part short and suddenly rising (from A to C), the last part chromatically falling.

The young wagtails: [*tö'le*] or [*\*uwr'c' \*uwr'c'*] (A C A) in a falsetto voice.

? (*sujaq*, a little bird, partly white, partly black): [*pr'w'i*] (A — C) in a falsetto voice.

Sparrow (*narsarmiutaq*): [*matuluquaq tertiöp tertiöp*].

In closing, just a few of the sounds which the North Greenlander uses (in addition to his whip) in driving the dogs harnessed to his sledge. They no doubt vary a good deal from place to place. Those I used myself I learned at Jakobshavn: a sign for the dogs to stop (by whistling), one for them to go faster: [*s' s'*] or [*hähph'äp*], one for them to go to the left: [*iw'iw*] with a high falsetto voice, and one for them to go to the right [*ilil'i ilil'i*], likewise with a high (rising) falsetto voice.



## VI. Eskimo Place-names from North Greenland.

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The Eskimo place-names\*) are merely common nouns that have been specially employed to designate certain places, and therefore it is generally easy to get at their meaning. Still very often the Greenlander does not get any general idea, or at least he does not think of any such idea when he uses the word in everyday life. *Qaqraq* (mountain) designates for him a certain mountain, east or west of his hut; likewise *kouk* (river) is a certain river, *qeqertaq* (island), a certain island that has once been so called by one of his ancestors, despite the fact that there are many other mountains, rivers and islands round about in the neighborhood. "The big island" is the name that has been given to Disko Island and no doubt to several other islands too along the same coast.

So we have every reason to expect great monotony in these names and frequent recurrence of the same ones, and we only need to glance at a map of the Eskimo coasts where

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\*) Collections are to be found in: Giesecke's "Mineralogiske Rejse i Grönland", ed. by F. Johnstrup. Copenhagen 1878 (pp. 353—366: "De grönlandske Stednavnes Retskrivning og Etymologi" by H. Rink). — "Meddelelser om Grönland" Vol. III, 1894, pp. 995—1016 (List of Place-names in *Conspectus Floræ Groenlandicæ* with indications of latitude by N. Hartz). — "Meddelelser om Grönland", Vol. VIII, pp. 30—32, pp. 119 ff., pp. 268 ff., Vol. IX, pp. 341—350 (place-names in East Greenland). — Petermanns Mitteilungen Vol. 48, 1902 (Stein, place-names north of C. York). — Petermanns Mitteilungen Ergänzungsheft 80, 1885, pp. 90—95 (F. Boas: Baffin Land). — C. F. Hall: Narrative of the second Arctic expedition (etc.) 1864—69, ed. by Nourse. Washington 1879 (pp. 354—398).

the place-names are given to find that the case is exactly as we expected. It seems as if the original settlers, who named the places, always believed that they had found their own familiar land again in the new districts where they came. Again and again we come across names like "the island", "the big island", "the little island", "the tolerably large island", "the mountain" "the big mountain", etc., "the point of land", "the big point of land", etc., "the river", "the bay", "the sound", "the inlet", "the corner", "the slope", "the sand", "the sunny side", "the shady side", etc. — all of them words current in the language, but which besides being used as common nouns have become specially stamped as names of certain localities in every district\*).

They are characteristic on account of their lack of individuality. It seems as if they express the first impression made by the places, and they only testify to what the Eskimo has had practical use for designating; the name is given, so to speak, by nature itself.

Somewhat more special are names like "the one without a top" (i. e. a cliff with a bare top); "the fragrant one"; "ebb" and "flood" (i. e. places where the ebb and flood-tide are especially marked); "the current" (i. e. where it is especially strong); "the place where the wind blows with unusual violence", etc. Here we already notice more independent power of observation, yet still limited by the practical needs of everyday life. The same may be said about the place-names which owe their origin to the fact that certain animals frequent the locality: "the auks", "the gulls", "the black guillemots", "the ringed seals", "the full-grown he-eiderducks", etc., often with the addition of the suffix "the many". We also find words for animals that are of less importance as game such as "the snails", "the mussels", and others; likewise, though more

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\*) In the following collection of place-names from North Greenland, I have omitted many of these common names.

seldom, plant-names: "the sea-weed", "the ferns", "sorrel", "rhododendron", "angelica", "the moss" (for the wick of the lamp), "grass", "the berries", and names of minerals: "iron", "clay", "potstone", "grindstone".

Of linguistic interest is the fact that all the ideas, the psychological results of each observation, are always comprised in one word in accordance with the whole structural tendency of the language, this one word (the name) thus often expressing several different ideas. This is the case in those names, of which we have already given examples, where there are special indications of quality combined with the chief idea, as for instance: big, middle-sized, little; many, bad, good, etc. These qualifying attributes are added by means of suffixes in so far as such suffixes are to be found in the language. If the language has no suffix with the desired signification, an independent word (generally a verbal participle) is used to express the quality, while the main idea itself is merely implied, for instance: "(the) blushing (one)" = the red mountain (land etc.); "(the one) growing black" = the black mountain (land etc.); "the uneven one" = the uneven island; "the flat one" = the flat island. The meaning of the suffixes, in terms of the grammatical-systems of our languages, may be either adjectival, nominal (for instance *-wik*, the place where; *-lik*, the person or the place that has or where there is), or pronominal (especially used possessively, for instance *ata-a*, its below-lying, *kania*, its within-lying, in-an-inward-direction-toward-the-land-lying, where "its" (*-a*) refers to the most conspicuous or the most familiar part of the land). Among the adjectival suffixes, there are some which are obviously obsolete, occurring only in combination with certain words (names), and whose meaning is now uncertain. Such are the suffixes *-naq*, *-ra'rsuk*, *-arsuk* and *-susuk*, which are all translated by curious, peculiar, strange, unusual, but which have probably formerly had more concrete meanings. *-arsuk* and *-ra'rsuk* are much used in Labrador in combination with

personal names to form pet-forms: the dear little thing (Bourq. Gr. § 493); I have also found it in North Greenland in personal names (*Atararsuk*, *Unararsuk*). The suffixes *-luk* and *-kawsaq* signify something like evil, abominable, damned, but the latter of these suffixes generally seems to have a humorous tinge; in combination with personal names, it half converts them to pet-forms. *-useq* is adverbial and means: approximately; *-ueq* and *-leq* are superlative suffixes, the latter to be combined only with words expressing direction (locality), for instance *kaŋiŋeq*, the one farthest over toward the interior of the land.

Of special importance in place-names is the suffix *-usaq*, "which resembles -", that is to say, the word to which it is added is not to be taken in the usual way, but is merely to indicate a resemblance, as for instance *iŋerusaq*, the one that resembles a stump-bed, that is a ledge in the mountain-side (which looks like a stump-bed).

We now come to those names which do not simply refer to some peculiarity in the place but which owe their origin to the play of the imagination, as when mountains are called "shoulder-like", "kidney-like", "heart-like", "tongue-like", "udder-like", "excrement-like", "nose-like", "boot-like", "mouth-like", or when islands are called "sleeve-like", "floor-like", bays and inlets, "lake-like" etc. Very graphic is the name *pertuia*<sup>sa</sup>, "one that resembles a capsizing boat".

To a different class, again, belong the names where only the object that the place is compared to is expressed, the idea "-like" being implied, or rather left out. These metaphorical names only occur sporadically. We have them in the case of mountains that are called "the toupees", "the horns", "the comb", "the drill", "the blubber-bag", "the shade for the eyes", "the neck", "the stomach", "the liver", "the big hip", "the snub-nosed one", "the snout (of an animal)", "the hair of the (seal's) whiskers", "the lips (of the reindeer)". Unusually graphic are "the one that draws his stomach in very much"



(about a mountain that is bent inwards), "the one that weeps" (a wet mountain-side), "the one that carries a child on its back", "the one that has no jacket on", "the one that has taken off his fur-coat", *anore-na-laŋa* "the lord of the winds" (a very high mountain).

Of a different kind again are such curious, highly conscious appellations as *arqittoq* "the one that has no name" and *no'ssu'ta* "that which *No'ssu'uaq* has its name from", that is to say, the big point of land ("*no'ssu'uaq*"), where no doubt formerly that settlement of the same name was situated which now lies some distance away and has taken with it, as it were, the name "big point of land".

A large number of the place-names have been suggested by details of human life, indeed they may even serve to give us information about characteristic features of Eskimo life, for instance: "the houses", "the inmates of the house", "the ones with the big sledges", "the bad way", "the spring- or summer-place" (i. e. the place where people camp in tents), "the place of ascent", "the place of descent", "the place where one got down at last", "the place where one carries one's boat over land", "the place where the big skin-boat or the *kajak* is drawn up on land", "the place where there is an outlook", "the place with good drinking-water", "the place with the tent-skins", "the place with the bridge", "the fox-trap", "the cooking-place", "the place where one does one's business", "the ball-game-place", "the place where one expects something" (namely game), "the place where one easily comes across reindeer", "the place where one is for the sake of shooting", "the place where the nets are put out", "the place where one hunts whales" etc. — Such occasions as the erection of a cairn, a pole, kindling of fire, drying of fish, gathering of lamp-moss, potstone, arrow-heads etc. may give rise to the name. Indeed there are place-names which are quite epic in character, like: "the place where there no longer stands an erect pole", "the place where iron



has been taken"; "the place where one flayed the skins off", "the place where one got enough to eat", "the place where one (or they) died of hunger", "the place where the pastor generally walks", "the place where the man beat his wife" (or vice-versa?), "the place where stones were thrown", "the place where the head generally has to be bent back" (that is in order to look up), "the place where one waits for the seals or the birds to become fat".

All these names have to be expressed by whole sentences in English; in Greenlandic there is only one word for each, whose elements express every detail of the ideas. — Of special linguistic interest are the examples of interjections used as names: *kaka* (surprise), *ik'e* (shivering from cold), also the names made up of verbal indicatives: *nak'aleqayq* "now it is falling" (i. e. a cliff) and *awartarpa't* "they broke the necks of them".

It must be added that there are of course many names which can no longer be explained, either because they have become corrupt in the course of time, or because they contain archaic elements.

The following place-names I took down at the different settlements as I visited them, without stopping to investigate their meaning at the time. In some cases it is only with hesitation that I presume to suggest my explanation. Rapid and careless pronunciation may have made the meaning uncertain. But I leave it to others to furnish better explanations.

I have not tried to make the list complete; on some stretches of the coast, however, and especially in the Umanak district there are not many omissions. But north of *Upernavik* and in the northern part of Disko Bay I have only given very few names.

The names are given in the order from north to south following the coast of West Greenland (North Greenland).

In the column to the left I use my phonetical orthography

( $\eta$  = ng,  $\lambda$  = tl, dl,  $\varphi$  = bilabial f,  $a$  = long  $a$  ( $\bar{a}$ ),  $a^{\epsilon}$  =  $\bar{a}^i$  etc.). except that I here double consonants to indicate that they are long (thus  $tt$  instead of  $t$  etc.). Every consonant that is preceded by  $r$  is as a rule long or half-long; this is indicated only in some few cases.

To the right I give some of the names in the usual orthography of the maps. — The largest Eskimo settlements are at those places which are designated as small trading-places ("Udsteder") or as colonies ("Kolonier"), the seat of the Danish managers, parsons and assistants. When only Eskimo settlement is given, it means that the place is inhabited only by Eskimo (a "Boplads").

Place-names.	Translations (Etymology).	Remarks.
<i>Mernoq</i>	? cf. Labr. <i>merngorpoq</i> is tired	northernmost Eskimo settlement in Danish Greenland ( $73^{\circ} 50'$ )*)
<i>Kv-k</i>	the river	Eskimo settlem. ( $73^{\circ} 45'$ )
<i>Sarpaq</i>	the current	Eskimo settlem. ( $73^{\circ} 42'$ )
<i>Nutarminut</i>	inhabitants of new land, or new inhabitants	{ Eskimo settlement north- west of <i>Sa'uttoq</i>
<i>Ikerasarsuk</i>	the peculiar sound or channel	
<i>Sa'uttoq</i>	the thin (flat) island	Eskimo settlem. ( $73^{\circ} 32'$ )
<i>Täsiusaq</i>	resembling a lake	the northernmost Danish trading-place ( $73^{\circ} 21'$ )
<i>Uwiņasoq</i>	sloping downward	Eskimo settlement
<i>Erqorleq</i>	the hindmost inland	Eskimo settlement
<i>Nawja't</i>	the young gulls	Eskimo settlement
<i>Tussarq</i>	cf. Labr. <i>tupjat</i> , <i>tutjat</i> a trail, track (from <i>tume</i> a foot- print)	Eskimo settlement
<i>Qa'şşersuaq</i>	? the big <i>kaysse</i> (Kl. a meet- ing-house or a valley)	trading-place ( $73^{\circ} 5'$ )

\*) According to Ryder the two northernmost settlements in 1887 were *Saitoq* and *Itiwliarsuk* ( $73^{\circ} 31'$ ). Meddelelser om Grönland vol. VIII, p. 232. — Many ruins of houses were found farther north, as for instance on  $74^{\circ} 19'$  N. lat. (u. s. p. 254).

Place-names.	Translations (Etymology).	Remarks.
<i>A<sup>u</sup>pilättoq</i>	the red one (the soil or the mountain)	trading-place (72° 56')
<i>Kiñittoq</i>	the towering mountain	Eskimo settlement
<i>Qarsua</i>	the big one which has no top (a flat-topped mountain)	a hill close to Upernivik
<i>Upernawik</i>	the summer-place (viz. where one camps in tents)	the northernmost Danish colony Upernivik (72°47' N. 56°10' W.)
<i>Pamiu<sup>a</sup></i>	its tail	promontory of an island
<i>Kargat</i> ( <i>kappat</i> )	promontory jutting out from the inland	
<i>Nusuätt'iaq</i>	the middling large cape or peninsula	
<i>Umiartorpik</i>	place where people (i. e. travellers) use umiaks (boats rowed by women)	
<i>Suilloq</i>	a tube or a hole where there is a draught	
<i>Qarsut</i>	bare flat-topped cliffs	deserted Eskimo settlement
<i>Qarsorsuaq</i>	the big bare flat-topped cliff	
<i>Appallit</i>	the ones (islands or cliffs) with auks	
<i>Arqusaq</i>	the one which resembles a sleeve	island
<i>Ama<sup>s</sup>siwik</i>	the place where full-grown male eider ducks were caught	
<i>Apparsuit</i>	the big auks	
<i>Inñia</i>	its pointed top	
<i>Tine</i> [ <i>t'in'e</i> ]	ebb (low water)	
<i>Ana<sup>n</sup>a</i>	his or her mother	
<i>Kiñittuarssuk</i>	the strange towering one	a little high island
<i>Niaqorna<sup>r</sup>suk</i>	the strange head	
<i>Siñat<sup>n</sup>aq</i>	gray (like a gray dog)	
<i>Sällleq</i>	the foremost one	island

Place-names.	Translations (Etymology).	Remarks.
<i>Iperaq</i>	the moss wick of a Greenlandic lamp	mountain with steep declivity
<i>Mane'suarsuk</i>	the remarkably uneven one	island
<i>Mane'soq</i>	the uneven one	
<i>Kaṇeq</i>	promontory jutting out from the inland	
<i>Awallēq</i>	the outermost one	island
<i>Kaṇersuät-siaq</i>	the middling large promontory	the small colony Pröven
<i>Upernnawik kujällēq</i>	the southernmost summer-place	South Upernivik, the southernmost trading-place in the Upernivik District; the above mentioned colony of the same name is here called:
<i>Upern'awi-suaq</i>	the great <i>Upernawik</i>	
<i>Sioraq</i>	sand (or grain of sand)	island
<i>Qa'mmawik</i>		island
<i>Ujarattoq</i>	full of big stones	island
<i>Mane'tsoq</i>	uneven	island
<i>Ana'ussaḡ</i>	?resembling excrement	island (Schade's islands)
<i>Kiṇatak</i>	mountain in whose ridge there is a cut (lit: in whose row of teeth there is a hole)	island
<i>Innerit</i>	the fires? or the flint-stones, cf. Petitot Vocab. <i>iknek</i> (C.) = <i>anmaq</i> , silex	fjord
<i>Qergertaq</i>	island	
<i>Nu'arsuk</i>	the strange headland	
<i>Umiarḡik</i>	place where the boat <i>umiak</i> is drawn up	fjord
<i>Niaqornarsuk</i>	the remarkable head (cliff)	
<i>Kaṇarsuk</i>	the strange point of land	point of land on which there is an inhabited house

Place-names.	Translations (Etymology).	Remarks.
<i>Täsiusaq</i>	resembling a lake	
<i>Qornoq</i>	narrow part of a fjord or sound	
<i>Nequtusog</i>	wide (broad part of a sound)	
<i>Siuteroq</i>	snail	mountain
<i>Amittoq</i>	narrow	fjord where there are two inhabited houses
<i>Serqat</i>	the black guillemots	
<i>Amittorssuaq</i>	the big (very?) narrow one	
<i>Miλλorφik</i>	the place where stones are (or were) thrown	fjord
<i>Qorva</i>	its valley	
<i>Sixxuk</i>	snout	Cape Swartenhuk (71° 40' N. 55° 52' W.)
<i>Maliñiaq</i>	that which people must follow?	
<i>Qarqoq</i>	cooked and dried liver or seal-meat Labr. = dried entrails	
<i>Narssaq</i>	plain	
<i>Inoquäsa't</i>	the old witch-like persons? (cf. <i>arnarquas'a'q</i> the witch of the sea)	

The following is a general survey of the names of the most important places in and around the Umanak (*Oommunnag*) Fjord (71° N. Lat.), which we come to next on proceeding toward the south. Most of these names do not so much belong merely to single points (cliffs) as to whole expanses of shore or parts of the land, even if the origin of the name may indicate that a single more limited locality was the starting-point. I begin at the northernmost entrance to the fjord and proceed toward the inner end and then along the southern shore out to the southern entrance, including as I proceed the nearest islands.



Place-names.	Translations (Etymology).	Remarks.
<i>Qinniwik</i> (or <i>qinnuwik</i> ?)	place where one stores away winter provisions	Cape Cranstown (71° 22' N. lat.)
<i>Arqertoarssuk</i>	where there always are whales	
<i>Niaqornäkä<sup>ssak</sup></i>	the hideous head (cliff)	
<i>Iλλoηuaq</i>	the little house	
<i>Pa<sup>na</sup>ηāsoq</i>	rich in berries	
<i>Täsiusaq</i>	resembling a lake	
<i>Eqe</i>	corner (of the mouth), entrance (to the fjord)	
<i>Iλλerusät</i>	ledges which resemble the stump bedsteads in a Greenlandic house	
<i>Tarto<sup>saq</sup></i>	resembling a kidney	
<i>Ego<sup>tät</sup> killē<sup>t</sup></i>	the westernmost <i>ego<sup>ts</sup></i> (a kind of seaweed)	
<i>Akunnerit</i>	the spaces between	
<i>Ego<sup>tät</sup></i>	a kind of seaweed (plural)	
<i>Sawet</i>	the iron implements, the knives	
<i>Ulissät</i>	tide waves at high water, or waves that beat heavily	
<i>Manetsoqut</i>	the land that is connected with the uneven place	
<i>Kussättaq</i>	sloping downward for a stream of water	
<i>Ippik</i>	cliff, steep clayey slope facing the sea	
<i>Niaqornäka<sup>ssak</sup></i>	the hideous head of the cliff	
<i>Ulikki<sup>wik</sup></i>	place where there is high water	
<i>Ummi<sup>wik</sup></i>	place where the boat is drawn up on land (during the reindeer hunt)	
<i>Orpiηarsuit</i>	the conspicuous bushes (or small trees)	
<i>Arqersiorçik</i>	the place where one hunts whales	
<i>Ittako</i>	the remains of the skins which have been sewed together	
<i>Serqarssuit</i>	the large (many?) black guillemots	

Place-names.	Translations (Etymology).	Remarks.
<i>Kaḡiusaq</i>	resembling a promontory	bay
<i>I<sup>w</sup>nnarssuaq</i>	the high declivity (bluff)	
<i>Ukkusissä pule-arssuät</i>	the <i>Uk<sup>w</sup>sisät</i> big reindeer-hunting district.	large fjord toward the north
<i>U<sup>w</sup>kkusissät</i>	potstone	
<i>Qiḡua</i>	the innermost part of the fjord	the inner end of the fjord (72°22' N. lat., 53°41' W. long.)
<i>Pänertog</i>	dried meat or fish (or from <i>pan<sup>w</sup>eq</i> , a fullgrown male reindeer?)	
<i>Niaḡornaka<sup>w</sup>s-sak</i>	the hideous head (cliff)	
<i>I<sup>w</sup>nnarssuaq</i>	the big bluff	
<i>Qo<sup>r</sup>orsuaq</i>	the large valley	
<i>Iḡioq</i>	surge, swell	
<i>Sälliaruseq</i>	that which is relatively foremost	
<i>Puerlas<sup>w</sup>iwik</i>	the place where one waits for them (seals, birds etc.) to become fat	
<i>Puerlas<sup>w</sup>i<sup>r</sup>ermia</i>	the glacier at the place where one waits for them (seals, birds etc.) to become fat.	
<i>Akuliarusiḡuaq</i>	the little mountain which is relatively in the middle (i. e. it towers up between two fjords).	

To the south lies the island:

Place-names.	Translations (Etymology).	Remarks.
<i>Qeqerttarssuaq</i>	the large island	
<i>Iḡi<sup>w</sup>ssua</i>	its big summit	
<i>Niaḡornäka<sup>w</sup>ssak</i>	the hideous mountain head	
<i>Ittakuarssuk</i>	the conspicuous or beautiful <i>Itako?</i> (v. p. 337)	
<i>Na<sup>w</sup>ja<sup>t</sup>t</i>	the young gulls	
<i>Akerte</i>	?(the one that answers, i. e. echoes?)	

Place-names.	Translations (Etymology).	Remarks.
<i>Ko<sup>u</sup>na</i>	?	
<i>S<sub>i</sub>sara<sup>1</sup>ξsoq</i>	?	
<i>No<sup>u</sup>q<sup>u</sup>atsiaq</i>	the middling big point of land	
<i>Kaqerluk</i>	an inlet, a fjord	fjord
<i>Umiammakut</i>	(these row-boats?)	
<i>Kappat</i>	their promontory	island
<i>Nuliarçik</i>	mating-place	
<i>Puto</i>	hole	
<i>Mä<sup>u</sup>rqat</i>	the children	
<i>Qiqusa<sup>u</sup></i>	? the front side of the innermost part of the fjord	island
<i>Kaqerlussuaq</i>	the big fjord	fjord
<i>Akuliarusiñuaq</i>	the little mountain towering up between two fjords	
<i>Qiqua</i>	its (the fjord's) inner end	
<i>Uiççak</i>	the fern	
<i>Niaqornakawsak</i>	the hideous mountain head	
<i>Qoñulertusoq</i>	where there is much mountain sorrel and similar vegetation	Eskimo settlement (6 houses)
<i>Sermeq awan<sup>u</sup>nerleq</i>	the northernmost glacier	glacier
<i>Qiterleq</i>	the middle one	glacier
<i>Pa<sup>u</sup>rniiwik</i>	the berry-place	
<i>Qunnertusoq</i>	where there is a big mountain-cleft	glacier
<i>Qorlortoñuaq</i>	the little waterfall	
<i>Kusañarsorsuaq</i>	the enormous slope	
<i>Kusañasog</i>	sloping, slope	tent-place and houses
<i>Sermiñuaq</i>	the little glacier	glacier
<i>Uperniwik</i>	the summer-place	
<i>Uperniwe No<sup>a</sup></i>	the promontory at the summer-place	Eskimo settlem. (71° 10' N., 52° 51' W.)
<i>Sioraq</i>	sand (lit: the grain of sand)	tent-place
<i>Ino<sup>u</sup>ñajuk</i>	a little person(?)	coal-place

Place-names.	Translations (Etymology).	Remarks.
<i>Añiaq</i>	a child born in concealment(?)	tent-place, building lots
<i>Nu'a</i>	its promontory	
<i>Kusiniñuaq</i>	the little river-bed (which is dried out in summer)	
<i>Kusinek anner-tuneq</i>	the river-bed which continues running longest.	
<i>Ujarassuaq</i>	the big stone	
<i>Arpeq</i>	the whale	
<i>Sermiñuaq</i>	the little glacier	
<i>Tuperssuaq</i>	the big tent	
<i>Kañerlusorp pa'</i>	the mouth ("the hole for the sleeve") of the big fjord	the outlet of the sound between <i>Upernivik</i> Island and the mainland
<i>Niaq'orn'añuaq</i>	the little mountain head	
<i>Qalättoq</i>	that which boils? or the one that draws its stomach very far in?	high steep mountain
<i>Illorssuit</i>	the large houses	the island <i>Ubekendt Eiland</i> (Unknown Island) and the small trading-place <i>Illorssuit</i> on its eastern shore

From here to the north of the island *Ubekendt Eiland*:

Place-names.	Translations (Etymology).	Remarks.
<i>No'ñutak</i>	the point of land	
<i>Koruñka'ssa't</i>	the hideous clefts	
<i>Nersinaso'usaq</i>	resembling a snub-nose	
<i>Elimana</i>	the place where one expects a good capture (of fish, seals etc.)	
<i>Illunaq</i>	resembling a house?	
<i>Qa'rusuk</i>	(lit: the one that is ready to burst) an underground hole	
<i>Illonuaq</i>	the little house	
<i>Erqua'ta ñwnna'</i>	the bluff on the back side	
<i>Erqua</i>	its back side	

Place-names.	Translations (Etymology).	Remarks.
<i>No<sup>u</sup>takisoq</i>	= <i>no'q takiso'q</i> the long point of land?	
<i>Qernertoq</i>	the black one	
<i>Norqagortoq</i>	the white point of land	
<i>Qernertuaraq</i>	the little black one	
<i>Tikkäppaq</i>	the kajak that has returned home?	
<i>Ana<sup>o</sup>saq</i>	resembling excrement (the color)	
<i>Erssaq</i>	the one that shows teeth(?)	
<i>Pertü'a<sup>o</sup>sa</i>	the one that is just as if about to capsize	
<i>Orlunawia</i>	its (or his) proper fall	little island
<i>Süjjua</i>	its front part (prow)	island
<i>Arqo</i>	the stern	
<i>Nuλλluk</i>	the two rumps	
<i>Issito<sup>u</sup>sak</i>	< <i>isito'q</i> = ice-fog? one that is just like ice-fog?	
<i>Ujara<sup>t</sup>t</i>	the stones	
<i>Ikar'ut</i>	a bridge, something that lies across	
<i>Pape'usik</i>	the fish tail (-sik?)	
<i>Uiççak</i>	a fern	
<i>Sarqa'</i>	its sunny side	
<i>Tukkuik</i>	the miser	
<i>Tuluag</i>	the raven	
<i>Qarnusaq</i>	a short wall built in front of the entrance as a shelter from the wind (usually: <i>qañ'usaq</i> )	
<i>Awartarpa<sup>t</sup>t</i>	they broke the back parts of their heads (i. e. the fishes' or the men's heads)	
<i>Tserqiaq</i>	brim of a hat, shade for the eyes	
<i>Narsinasonuaq</i>	the little snub-nosed one	
<i>No'ñutaq</i>	a point	



Place-names.	Translations (Etymology).	Remarks.
<i>Ilulio'maneq</i>	a place that is slightly concave	
<i>Teriänniaq</i>	the fox	
<i>Nuna'ηuaq</i>	the little land	
<i>Iwnarssue</i>	the big bluffs	
<i>Nagerloq</i>	the hollow (in the mountain wall)	
<i>Aopaluttuηuaq</i>	the little red one	
<i>Kinumaneq</i>	? = <i>tinumaneq</i> , that which is bent around	
<i>No'ηmiut</i>	the dwellers on the promontory	formerly inhabited (ruins)
<i>Naliφφik</i>	the place that is just opposite to one or that one is abreast of (nautical)	
<i>Kusiniηuaq</i>	the little river-bed	(ruins)
<i>Ko'roηuaq</i>	the little cleft	
<i>Niorto'toka<sup>w</sup>ssak</i>	? = <i>niorto'tikaws'ak</i> , the hideous drill	
<i>Niorto'suaq</i>	the big drill	steep cliff
<i>Ilłorsuit</i>	the big houses	small trading-place
<i>Inokassa't</i>	many people	formerly inhabited
<i>Qe'oqe</i>	? the one that is clipped, a kind of small gull	
<i>Qa'ςo'p ilłua</i>	<i>Qa'soq's</i> house	building-lot
<i>Ilłerussaka<sup>w</sup>ssa't</i>	the hideous things that look like beds	
<i>Kap'ē</i>	? the one that wears a double layer of clothes (Kl. <i>kappip'oq</i> )	
<i>Kiη'arsim'a</i>	that which has got a cut or nick in its edge	
<i>A°opaluttoka<sup>w</sup>ssak</i>	the hideous red one	
<i>Sermeg qernertog</i>	the black glacier	
<i>Akuliarusikawssak</i>	the hideous mountain which towers up between two fjords	
<i>Qa'rsuka<sup>w</sup>ssak</i>	the naughty cliff	
<i>Iser's'iutilik</i>	? a place where the birds are driven inward	

Place-names.	Translations (Etymology).	Remarks.
<i>Kaηerλuarsopsermia</i>	the glacier of the pretty (?) or peculiar (?) fjord	the innermost part of the <i>Kaηerλuarsuk</i> Fjord
<i>Serme erqiηa</i>	the edge of the inland ice in the corner of the inner part of a fjord.	
<i>Ti<sup>w</sup>ssarissoq</i>	the fragrant one	
<i>Qeqerta<sup>i</sup> akia</i>	the coast opposite to the island	south of the little island in the fjord
<i>Torηit</i>	the inland inhabitants	
<i>Serma<sup>w</sup>runnika<sup>w</sup>sak</i>	the hideous place where the glacier has disappeared	
<i>Ummi<sup>i</sup>wik</i>	place where the boat is drawn up on land (during the reindeer-hunt)	
<i>Sermmika<sup>w</sup>ssaq</i>	the naughty or hideous glacier	
<i>Qiqarturssuaq</i>	the large mountain ridge	
<i>Aserussuit</i>	?the large crevices	
<i>Appata<sup>i</sup></i>	the auks (the moderately many auks?)	between the mouths of the two fjords <i>Kaηerλuarsuk</i> and <i>Innerit</i>
<i>Qaqortuätsiaq</i>	the tolerably little white one	
<i>Kaηimusa<sup>w</sup>misog</i>	the one that faces toward the inland	
<i>Tupersu<sup>i</sup>ätta<sup>i</sup></i>	the moderately large tents	
<i>Qaηatalika<sup>w</sup>ssak</i>	the hideous one (place) with the rocky cavern	
<i>Pukkitoaja<sup>k</sup></i>	the low one — ( <i>aja<sup>k</sup></i> ?)	
<i>Noηotaka<sup>w</sup>ssak</i>	the hideous point of land ( <i>-ηota</i> ?)	
<i>A<sup>o</sup>λλα<sup>o</sup>nian<sup>o</sup>φik</i>	place where they are out hunting with shooting-weapons (cross-bows or fire arms)	
<i>Sisortantoka<sup>w</sup>ssak</i>	the hideous one (cliff) that is apt to slide down	

Place-names.	Translations (Etymology).	Remarks.
<i>Korrorsuaq kañi-l-</i>	the innermost (easternmost)	
<i>leq</i>	large cleft	
<i>Nunataquaq</i>	the little land-island (in the inland ice)	
<i>Kusinersuaq</i>	the big river-bed	
<i>Maλλak</i>	?the one that has a gash or a loose flap (Kl. <i>mag-dlagpog</i> ): a hangnail	
<i>Qeqertañuit</i>	the little islands	
<i>Oqa<sup>w</sup>saka<sup>w</sup>ssak</i>	the hideous tongue-like one	
<i>Täs<sup>1</sup>art<sup>1</sup>oq</i>	?the place where the sea breaks in	
<i>Qa<sup>w</sup>marujuk</i>	the place where it is somewhat light	
<i>Erφαλλika<sup>w</sup>ssa<sup>1</sup></i>	?( <i>erφαq</i> , a coat of water-tight skin) its (the fjord's) hideous one that wears a coat	
<i>Qasiñissät erni-wiqiät</i>	the place of the sea-dogs (phoca vitulina), where they breed	
<i>Serφα<sup>1</sup> in<sup>1</sup>art</i>	the nests of the black guillemots	
<i>Qaqortoka<sup>w</sup>ssak</i>	the hideous white one	
<i>A<sup>w</sup>sorφik</i>	?place which is becoming rotten or melting	
<i>Akuliarusiusa-ka<sup>w</sup>ssak</i>	the hideous thing which resembles a mountain towering up between two fjords	
<i>Kusi<sup>w</sup>nika<sup>w</sup>ssak</i>	the hideous river bed	
<i>Portuso<sup>1</sup>q</i>	the high one	
<i>Qeqertaka<sup>w</sup>ssak</i>	the hideous island	
<i>Täsiusa pa<sup>1</sup></i>	the mouth of the lake-like one	the mouth of the <i>Täsiusaq</i>
<i>Tserqiaq</i>	a shade for the eyes	an overhanging cliff
<i>No<sup>1</sup>ñuaq</i>	little tongue of land	
<i>Akuliaruserssuaq</i>	the big towering mountain between two fjords	Eskimo settlement (1 house) 71°3' N. lat., 51°10' W. long.

Place-names.	Translations (Etymology).	Remarks.
<i>Orssoviaṇuaq</i>	the little mountain containing white felspar	
<i>Qeppuka<sup>wssa't</sup></i>	the hideous tracts of broken stone	
<i>Na°jane</i>	by the gulls	
<i>Ko°rorsuaq</i>	the large cleft	
<i>Siorqane perser-sartoq</i>	the one that drifts with sand	
<i>Kissawiarssuit</i>	the falcons	
<i>Nu°suättsiaq</i>	the moderately big point of land	
<i>Innerit</i>	the fires or flints (silices)	
<i>Qa°rsorsuaq</i>	the large, flat-topped cliff	
<i>Kusinerssuaq</i>	the big river-bed	
<i>Sermeq awanner- leq</i>	the northernmost glacier	
<i>Numataq</i>	land-island in the inland ice	
<i>Sermeq</i>	glacier	
<i>Perlerøik</i>	the place where people die (died) of starvation	
<i>Ko°rorssuaq</i>	the big cleft	
<i>Nunarsusuaq</i>	?the big (peculiar?) land	
<i>Ajorsisimasoq</i>	the one that could not get any farther, that had to give up	
<i>Sermika<sup>w'sak</sup></i>	the hideous glacier	
<i>Narsa°rsuṇuaq</i>	the little peculiar plain	
<i>Issi</i>	?frost, cold — or from: <i>is'ip'oq</i> , bends down in a sitting position — or from: <i>is'in'erit</i> , the loose pieces of ice between the land and the main ice	
<i>Puto</i>	a hole	
<i>Tserqiaq</i>	a shade for the eyes	cliff
<i>Egalussualik</i>	place where there are sharks	
<i>Qunnertoq</i> (or -to°q)	?the one that is cleft (a cleft)	

Place-names.	Translations (Etymology).	Remarks.
<i>Matta<sup>o</sup>titoq</i> (or -to <sup>o</sup> q)	?the one that has much <i>matak</i> (whale-rind)	
<i>Arqartar<sup>o</sup>qik</i>	place where one generally descends, or where the aquatic animals generally dive down	
<i>Sa<sup>o</sup>toq</i>	the flat one	
<i>Ukusissät</i>	potstone (plur.)	small trading-place (at the foot of a high steep mountain of this name) 71°2' N. lat., 51°31' W. long.
<i>Ala<sup>o</sup>erqa<sup>o</sup>q</i>	the top of <i>Ala<sup>o</sup>oq</i> , the shady side (of the fjord)	
<i>Akuliaruseq</i>	relatively the middle one	Eskimo settlement (1 house)
<i>Qeqertäl</i>	the islands:	WSW. of <i>Ukusis<sup>o</sup>ät</i>
<i>Qasi<sup>o</sup>nissät</i>	sea-dogs ( <i>phoca vitulina</i> )	
<i>Qammik</i>	?one that is filled with heaped measure	
<i>Ser<sup>o</sup>ät</i>	the black guillemots	
<i>Sa<sup>o</sup>tuarsuk</i>	the peculiar flat one	
<i>Ki<sup>o</sup>nittuarsuk</i>	the peculiar towering one	Eskimo settlement (4 houses)
<i>Iluerto<sup>o</sup>q</i>	the one with the many pits (or ditches)	
<i>Qernertoarssuit</i>	the peculiar black ones	
<i>Sälleq</i>	the leader (foremost one)	island somewhat far- ther south (high)
<i>Appat</i>	the auks	a rather large island south of <i>Ukusis<sup>o</sup>ät</i>
<i>Ui<sup>o</sup>ffa<sup>o</sup>q</i>	a fern	on the southern side of the island
<i>Qa<sup>o</sup>so<sup>o</sup>p il<sup>o</sup>lua</i>	<i>Qa<sup>o</sup>soq's</i> house	ruin
<i>It<sup>o</sup>er<sup>o</sup>lak</i>	a depression (mountain hollow or bay)	
<i>Umiässussuk</i>	?the curious row-boat	



Place-names.	Translations (Etymology).	Remarks.
<i>Naqerλorsuaq</i>	the big hollow in the mountains between two fjords	
<i>Nakkaleqaq</i>	now it is falling!	
<i>Kusinika<sup>w</sup>ssak</i>	the hideous river bed	
<i>Iλλu kujällleq</i>	the southernmost house	
<i>Serminηηuaq</i>	the little glacier	
<i>Imerssuaq</i>	the big (body of) water	
<i>Ihueq</i>	the grave	
<i>Appa<sup>i</sup>lik</i>	? the one that has auks	
<i>Pania</i>	his or her daughter	
<i>Qaqortuä<sup>t</sup>iaq</i>	the tolerably little white one	
<i>Innerit</i>	the fires or flints	mountain
<i>Qeporqaq</i>	a species of big whale "with a low round dorsal fin and many furrows under the abdomen"	
<i>Torsukatak</i>	? <i>tors'oq</i> , the entrance-hole of a house, house-passageway	the sound between <i>Ap'at</i> Island and the mainland
<i>Akuliarut<sup>i</sup>p qaq-ga</i>	the mountain of the intervening space	at the entrance to the sound on the north side
<i>Serqüt ina<sup>i</sup></i>	the nests of the black guillemots	
<i>Qarsortaηuit</i>	? the small arrows	
<i>Qepponηηuit</i>	the little stones that have slid down	
<i>Tulu<sup>w</sup>ηuit</i>	the little ravens	
<i>Siso<sup>p</sup> kajuk</i>	?	
<i>Na<sup>t</sup>jä<sup>t</sup>ta<sup>t</sup></i>	the moderately small gulls	
<i>Kusinersuaq</i>	the big river-bed	
<i>Iliarssuit</i>	? the big orphans	
<i>Iliarsue qeqerta<sup>t</sup></i>	the islands of <i>Iliarssuit</i>	
<i>Naqerλorsuaq</i>	the big hollow in the mountain-chain between two fjords	
<i>I<sup>w</sup>nnarssuaq</i>	the big bluff	
<i>Sa<sup>t</sup>tuarpala<sup>t</sup></i>	the miserable little flat ones	

Place-names.	Translations (Etymology).	Remarks.
<i>A<sup>o</sup>na<sup>t</sup>i</i>	?	bay
<i>A<sup>n</sup>a<sup>ko</sup>u<sup>ät</sup></i>	<i>a<sup>n</sup>a<sup>t</sup></i> 's rivers	
<i>Sa<sup>r</sup>qutito<sup>q</sup></i>	the one who has a big outfit of kajak-implements	
<i>Eqi<sup>ñ</sup>a</i>	his or its corner (of the mouth)	a little pointed cove at the inner end of a bay
<i>Qa<sup>s</sup>op i<sup>ll</sup>lua</i>	<i>Qa<sup>s</sup>oq</i> 's house	ruin
<i>Ser<sup>mi</sup> nu<sup>n</sup>ata<sup>·</sup></i>	a land-island of the inl.-ice (a protruding mountain-top)	
<i>Ser<sup>mi</sup> ka<sup>ñ</sup>i<sup>ll</sup>leg</i>	the innermost (easternmost) glacier	
<i>Amittu<sup>ä</sup>ttiaq</i>	the middling little narrow one	mountain
<i>Anore<sup>to</sup>·q</i>	the one where it is very windy	high mountain
<i>Iti<sup>w</sup>λλi<sup>a</sup>rssuk</i>	the peculiar crossing	Eskimo settlement by the fjord of the same name
<i>I<sup>w</sup>na<sup>ñ</sup>uaq</i>	the little bluff	
<i>To<sup>·</sup>li<sup>t</sup>alik</i>	the one that has loons ( <i>Colymbus glacialis</i> )	Eskimo settlement (3 houses) on a flat island (70° 48' N., 51° 20' W.)
<i>Per<sup>la</sup>·sa<sup>r</sup>ssuit</i>	the large ones (pieces of wood) which can be used for sledge-runners	
<i>Nu<sup>·</sup>su<sup>ä</sup>t<sup>ia</sup>q</i>	the middling large point of land	
<i>Uka<sup>li</sup>lik</i>	the one that has hares	island
<i>Qi<sup>ll</sup>luaq</i>	the little carcass of a land-animal or bird	
<i>I<sup>ll</sup>utorq<sup>ät</sup></i>	the old houses	
<i>Qi<sup>ñ</sup>ηoq</i>	the inner part of a fjord or a hole	
<i>Qe<sup>q</sup>erta<sup>·</sup>r<sup>q</sup>ut</i>	?	
<i>Ko<sup>r</sup>qut</i>	the valleys	
<i>Sa<sup>·</sup>ttut</i>	the flat (thin) ones	small trading-place on a little island (70° 48' N., 51° 30' W.)
<i>Sa<sup>·</sup>tu<sup>q</sup>isut</i>	the ones that are very flat (or thin)	3 small islands a little farther north

Place-names.	Translations (Etymology).	Remarks.
<i>Uiorle't</i>	the ones that are at the very end of the row (an increase in length)	
<i>Aφφarλεq</i>	a special room, a side room	
<i>Nαχχοφικ</i>	? place where things sprout; the place of vegetation	
<i>Näsiφφικ</i>	the place where there is an outlook	
<i>Niarqusät näsiφ-φiät</i>	?	farthest east
<i>Amma't</i>	silicated slate (plur.) i. e. argillaceous slate which has been hardened by silicious water, and which was formerly used for arrow-heads, knives etc.	farthest west
<i>Amittuät'iaq</i>	the middling narrow one	
<i>Nv'suätt'iaq</i>	the middling big promontory	
<i>Akinnaq</i>	something that is just opposite	
<i>Quηasiηua</i>	its little neck	
<i>A°pilättoq</i>	the red one	Eskimo settlement (2 houses)
<i>A°pilätto· ta·</i>	that which <i>A°pilättoq</i> is named after	
<i>I°nnaka°ssak</i>	the hideous bluff	
<i>Uιλλut</i>	the shells	the southern entrance to the <i>Sermilik</i> Fjord
<i>No'ηa°tsiaq</i>	the middling little promontory	
<i>Sermerλεt</i>	the ones (mountains or fjords) that have a glacier?	
<i>A°neq</i>	the rotten one	mountain
<i>Niaqornekassaq</i>	the hideous head-like one	
<i>Alaηorssuaq</i>	the big shady side	
<i>Qa°ηηulik</i>	the one with the edge of ice (along the shore)	
<i>Merλεrtut</i>	the children (obsolete word, now used only in elevated style)	

Place-names.	Translations (Etymology).	Remarks.
<i>Iti<sup>w</sup>ssa'q</i>	?the land (lowland) that one continually has to walk over	
<i>Piqi<sup>n</sup>aq</i>	?	
<i>Ilikerusaq</i>	the ledge	
<i>Akuliaruseq</i>	the one that lies just about between	
<i>Akulleq</i>	the middle one	rather small island
<i>Sälliariusät</i>	the relatively outermost or foremost ones	Storöen, rather large island with an Eskimo settlement (3 houses)
<i>Akia</i>	that side of it which is just opposite, the shore on the other side of the sound	
<i>Pamiällua</i>	its tail like that of an aquatic animal (seal or walrus)	
<i>Aqajarua</i>	its (interior) stomach	on the north side of Storöen (Great Isl.)
<i>Pa<sup>w</sup>rnät</i>	the berries	on the south side
<i>Anuja'rtorfik</i>	?	
<i>Qiqarsuaq</i>	the big bridge of the nose or the big sharp edge of the shin-bone	the northwest point (promontory) of the island
<i>Qa<sup>r</sup>suka<sup>w</sup>ssak</i>	the hideous flat-topped cliff	on the mainland south-east of <i>Akuliaruseq</i>
<i>Ilua</i>	its interior	
<i>Akuliarusersuaq</i>	the big towering mountain between two fjords	
<i>Alakarsa'ria</i>	the one that allows him to become visible	
<i>Qo<sup>r</sup>rorsuaq</i>	the big cleft	
<i>Nagerluk</i>	a cleft in the mountain extending from valley to valley or from fjord to fjord	
<i>No<sup>w</sup>erut</i>	?	
<i>Qa<sup>r</sup>rusuk</i>	rocky cavern	at the promontory
<i>Qa<sup>'</sup>newe't</i>	the places for the kajaks (where they are drawn up)	on the promontory

Place-names.	Translations (Etymology).	Remarks.
<i>Qarajaq</i> or <i>Qarajaq</i>	a rounded bay between two steep cliffs	settlement (70°25' N., 50°32' W.)
<i>A<sup>u</sup>paluttuuaq</i>	the little red one	
<i>No<sup>u</sup>ka<sup>w</sup>ssak</i>	the hideous point of land	
<i>Sigṣuaṣuit</i>	the small mountain slides	
<i>Kissawiaq</i>	? a kind of bird (hawk?) ( <i>kis<sup>ar</sup>arviarsuk</i> = a falcon)	
<i>Nunaṣuaq</i>	little land	
<i>Qaraja<sup>w</sup>iu</i>	its real <i>qarajaq</i> , inner end of the fjord	low promontory in front of the glacier
<i>Ko<sup>u</sup>ka<sup>w</sup>ssak</i>	the hideous river	
<i>Näserqawik</i>	? there where the proper outlook is to be found	nearest to the glacier
<i>Noṣatsiaq</i>	? the middling large projecting point of land	
<i>Noṣutaka<sup>w</sup>ssaq</i>	the hideous clumsy point of land (minor promontory)	
<i>I<sup>w</sup>nnerit</i>	the fires or flints	
<i>Niaqornaq</i>	resembling a head	
<i>Nunataq</i>	land-island in the inland ice	
<i>Alaṣṣuaq</i>	the shady side	the south side of the Umanak Fjord
<i>Itipilua</i>	? = Kl. <i>iserfiluk</i> , rima	
<i>Puiättoka<sup>w</sup>ssak</i>	? the hideous blister or bubble	
<i>Qeqertaq</i>	the island	
<i>Qa<sup>r</sup>ssaq</i>	the flat-topped cliff	
<i>Itinneq</i>	depression, the lowest pass between two bays or fjord	
<i>Iḷḷerṣiusaq</i>	resembling a chest	deep, broad cañon, in which there is
<i>Ko<sup>u</sup>suaq</i>	the big river	a large river on the way from
<i>Majoriarsuättṣiaq</i>	the rather great ascent	a mountain in the interior of the land
<i>Eqabuit</i>	the salmon (plur.)	
<i>Tiṣuk</i>	the liver	
<i>Narsa<sup>s</sup>oṣuaq</i>	? the little plain	
<i>I<sup>w</sup>nnarssuaq</i>	the big bluff	
<i>Nuṣṣiūmaneq</i>	? the one that advances most	



Place-names.	Translations (Etymology).	Remarks.
<i>Ihusissoq</i>	? that which lies in the direction of the interior	
<i>Sissokajuk</i>	? the one that frequently slides down	
<i>Ujara't</i>	its stones	
<i>Qo'rorsuaq</i>	the big cleft	
<i>Sorqaq</i>	a whalebone	
<i>Sermmia</i>	its (the inland's) ice	glacier
<i>Sissiq̃a</i>	its fox-hole	
<i>Narsiq̃asog</i>	the snub-nosed one	
<i>Mal'art'arçik</i>	place where the head is generally bent back	
<i>Kaḡimusammisog</i>	the one that is turned in the direction of the inland	
<i>Qa'rsog</i>	a broad-topped cliff	
<i>Kusinerssuaq</i>	the big river-bed	
<i>Umiartorçik</i>	place to which they used to go in row-boats ( <i>umiaqs</i> )	deserted Eskimo settlement
<i>Qan'erpal'uk</i>	the one that resembles a mouth in appearance (or in sound)	
<i>Sis, oak'a<sup>w</sup>ss'a't</i>	the hideous (impassable) stones that have slid down	
<i>Sermersuaq</i>	the large glacier	
<i>Iviäḡarnāt</i>	resembling a woman's breasts (or the udders of a female animal)	
<i>I<sup>w</sup>na'rsuḡuaq</i>	the peculiar little bluff	
<i>Umiusarsuaq</i>	? the big one which resembles a curtain in a Greenlandic tent	
<i>It'erλ'eq</i>	the one that is deepest down in the valley or farthest in in the bay	deserted Eskimo settlement
<i>Qepporsuit</i>	the big avalanches of stone	
<i>Im, ikiättoq</i>	warm water	with a little river
<i>Assakaḡḡuit</i>	the little ones that roll around or roll down	
<i>Sermmia</i>	its (the inland's) ice (glacier)	

Place-names.	Translations (Etymology).	Remarks.
<i>Niaqornnäka<sup>w</sup>ssaq</i>	the hideous head-like one	
<i>Assaka<sup>r</sup>ssuit</i>	the big or strange ones that roll around or roll down	
<i>Sermika<sup>w</sup>sa<sup>k</sup></i>	the hideous glacier	
<i>Qarnersuaq</i>	the big breaker	
<i>I<sup>w</sup>nnarsuñuaq</i>	the strange little bluff	
<i>An<sub>1</sub>axx<sub>1</sub>u<sub>1</sub>φil<sup>l</sup>in<sup>u</sup>'aq</i>	the little place where one rests (supports) one's rifle (or field-glass)	
<i>Tup<sup>l</sup>erssuaka<sup>w</sup>ssa<sup>t</sup></i>	the hideous big tents	
<i>Ku<sup>v</sup>tartonaq</i>	the little river which usually flows	
<i>Ka<sup>w</sup>tartoq</i>	1) the one that frequently hammers or beats? or 2) < <i>ka<sup>w</sup>it<sup>l</sup>artoq</i> , the one that often whirls round	
<i>Sänneriaq</i>	something that lies or has turned across something else (especially the bow of a cross-bow). <i>sa<sup>n</sup>erpoq</i> : turns or has turned cross- wise (or < <i>sa<sup>n</sup>erpa</i> : soils either with something dry or something moist)	
<i>Qeppersuit</i>	the big piles of stones (ava- lanches of stones)	
<i>Sermiarsuit</i>	the peculiar glaciers	Eskimo settlement (70° 35' N. lat., 51° 56' W. long.)

## Two islands east of this point:

Place-names.	Translations (Etymology).	Remarks.
<i>Taleroq</i>	a seal's or a whale's fore-paw	
<i>Ikerasak</i>	the sound	trading-place
<i>Ike<sup>e</sup></i>	? 1) interjection on feeling a cold shiver, or 2) the hard wood in a kind of drift timber	Eskimo settlement (1 house) close by Ike- rasak
<i>Ika<sup>r</sup>talik</i>	which has a bridge	Eskimo settlement

Place-names.	Translations (Etymology).	Remarks.
<i>Ikerasatuaq</i>	the little sound (strait between two islands)	Eskimo settlement
<i>Qum'an'at'iaq</i>	the smaller <i>o'm'an'uaq</i>	Eskimo settlement
<i>Qaq'arsuāt'iaq</i>	the right large mountain	
<i>Nāsiφ'ik</i>	the outlook-place	
<i>Inussuk</i>	(resembling a human being) a cairn	
<i>Nāsiφ'isuaq</i>	the big outlook-place	

North of *Serm'arsuit* there lies out in the fjord:

Place-names.	Translations (Etymology).	Remarks.
<i>O'mmanuaq</i>	resembling a heart	an island with a high mountain (1168 m.) and a colony of the same name, the Umanak of the map (70°40' N. lat.)
<i>Mane'lāt</i>	a piece of pack-ice	Eskimo settlement (1 house) close to Umanak
<i>Qor'lortotuaq</i>	the little one that flows down (waterfall)	brook
<i>Illerusarsuit</i>	the big ledges	
<i>Napparutarneq</i>	?resembling the dorsal fin of a whale	
<i>Nāsiφ'ik</i>	the outlook-place	
<i>Pulānne</i>	the pools of water that smell	
<i>Ko'rorsuaq</i>	the big cleft (valley)	
<i>Arssarφ'ituaq</i>	the little place where they play ball	
<i>Palassarq'isar-tarφ'ia</i>	the place where the preacher is accustomed to sit in the sun or: to walk to and fro (promenading)	
<i>Noηuaq</i>	the little point of land	
<i>Pul'lammint</i>	the (fox-) trap-inhabitants	deserted Eskimo settlement
<i>Pul'lāt'ituaq</i>	the little trap	

Place-names.	Translations (Etymology).	Remarks.
<i>Kam'ipal'o</i>	?the one that looks like an (Eskimo) boot	
<i>Qa<sup>u</sup>janak</i> or <i>Qa<sup>u</sup>janaka<sup>w</sup>ssak</i>	?place where one got food enough to eat	
<i>No<sup>u</sup>utaka<sup>w</sup>ssak</i>	the hideous point of land	
<i>Ko<sup>s</sup>uaka<sup>w</sup>ssak</i>	the hideous big river	
<i>Qor<sup>l</sup>orto<sup>u</sup>uaq</i>	the little one that flows down (waterfall)	
<i>Qepporssuaka<sup>w</sup>s-sa't</i>	the hideous big taluses (avalanches of stones)	
<i>Ka<sup>u</sup>usa<sup>u</sup>uaq</i>	the little (quantity of) brass or copper	
<i>Sa'toq</i>	the thin (flat) one	
<i>Qernerto<sup>u</sup>uit</i>	the little black ones	
<i>Ujukuartor<sup>u</sup>ik</i>	place where one stands on the shore and catches gulls by means of a piece of blubber which is fastened to a hook or peg at the end of a line	
<i>Poruseq</i>	a bag (made of a whole skin, for blubber)	deserted Eskimo settlement
<i>Qa'tniw't</i>	the places where they lay the kajaks up	
<i>Qilakittoq</i>	the one that has a little sky (i. e. a little peak)?	high, pointed mountain
<i>Ku<sup>k</sup>a<sup>w</sup>ssak</i>	the hideous river	
<i>O<sup>m</sup>anittoq</i>	the one that is not living (any longer)	
<i>Nu<sup>a</sup>rsuk</i>	the peculiar little point of land	
<i>A<sup>o</sup>maq</i>	a live coal (coal?)	
<i>A<sup>o</sup>maraq</i>	the little live coal (coal?)	
<i>Qa'tja't</i>	?their kajaks	
<i>Qa'tja<sup>u</sup>uit</i>	the little kajaks	
<i>Toapa<sup>r</sup>suit</i>	the big or strange pebbles (from the sea)	
<i>Ku<sup>k</sup></i>	the river	uninhabited houses; coal-beds

Place-names.	Translations (Etymology).	Remarks.
<i>I<sup>w</sup>naka<sup>w</sup>ssak</i>	the hideous bluff	
<i>Kussaŋasunuaq</i>	the little one that slopes downward	
<i>Sarqarçik</i>	the current-place, rapids	
<i>Ilu<sup>w</sup>erqu<sup>l</sup>issus<sup>l</sup>oq</i>	? the one who misses a place of deposit	
<i>Qarsuarsuk</i>	the peculiar flat-topped cliff	
<i>Pattorçik</i> or <i>Aŋiarsuit</i>	place where husband and wife fight (or where the husband beats his wife)	
<i>I<sup>l</sup>laka<sup>w</sup>sak</i>	the hideous house	an uninhabited house
<i>Inerissoq</i>	place with good water	
<i>Qarsut</i>	the bare flat-topped cliffs	small trading-place
<i>Qilertinuit</i>	the little toupees (the women's mode of dressing the hair)	mountain 2025 m. high (70°38' N. lat., 52°28' W. long.)
<i>Aŋiarsuit</i>	the big (many?) grindstones or files	mountain (Slibestens-fjældet)
<i>Ekorçät</i>	the underlayers, a tongue of land at the foot of a high mountain	
<i>Serçät</i>	the black guillemots	
<i>Anore na<sup>l</sup>laŋa<sup>l</sup></i>	the master of the wind	
<i>Kiŋittoq</i>	the towering one	
<i>A<sup>w</sup>qqullonuaq</i>	? the one where there is bad walking	
<i>Niargornät</i>	the head-like ones	small trading-place
<i>O<sup>l</sup>jo</i> [ <sup>l</sup> ö.jö <sup>l</sup> ]	? the eeking (Kl. <i>uigo</i> = <i>uio</i> , an addition to the length; eeking) cf. p. 360	
<i>Sälisaq</i>	the one with the hair scraped off (especially about scraped hides)	
<i>Nuila<sup>u</sup>saq</i>	resembl. the upper opening in an Eskimo cloak ( <i>anoraq</i> )	
<i>Nunarsuättiaq</i>	the middling large land	big isolated cliff
<i>Ama<sup>r</sup>rtorsuaq</i>	the big <i>ama<sup>r</sup>toq</i> (one who carries a child on her back in the hood of her cloak)	conspicuous, round topped cliff



Place-names.	Translations (Etymology).	Remarks.
<i>Tuviussa</i>	resembling a shoulder	
<i>Nu'tullæg</i>	the next point of land	
<i>Nu'k qiterlæg</i>	the middle point of land	
<i>Tuluäñuit</i>	the small ravens	
<i>Kenarisoq</i>	the one with the pretty face	
<i>Nu'suätt'iaq</i>	the middling large point of land	
<i>Kusiniñuaq</i>	the little dried up river-bed	
<i>Ege</i>	the corner (c. of the mouth)	
<i>Iti<sup>w</sup>le</i>	the place where one carries the boats over	(map:) Iterdlak
<i>Tupersuarta</i>	?that from which the big tent has got its name	
<i>Iwnnarsuätsiaq</i>	the tolerably big bluff	
<i>Sammisoq</i>	the one that is turned this way (in our direction)	
<i>Ku'k</i>	the river	
<i>Quta'r'luk</i>	a forbidding steep place	
<i>Nu'loq</i>	point of land (-loq = -luk?)	
<i>Qernertuarsue</i>	the big entirely black ones	
<i>Ipika<sup>w</sup>sät</i>	the horrid clayey banks or moraines	
<i>Kanissut</i>	the sea scorpions	
<i>Kaniuaqqät</i>	the little sea scorpions	
<i>Qupittaq</i>	a cleft	
<i>Sammisuarag</i>	the little one that turns this way	
<i>Itatalik</i>	? (a place) with tent-skins, which are associated with the place	
<i>Nagerloq</i>	the hollow, the depression	
<i>Sar'loq</i>	?a thinner place	
<i>Ko'ruta'i</i>	the valley's surroundings	
<i>Kaheq</i>	the promontory	Hukken (70°44' N. lat., 54°28' W. long.)
<i>Pu'lläsuag</i>	the big trap (fox-trap?)	
<i>Amittuarsuk</i>	the narrow one	
<i>Nu'suag</i>	the big point of land	small trading-place (map: Nugsuak)

Place-names.	Translations (Etymology).	Remarks
<i>Ike'ag</i> or <i>Ite'ag, Ite'a</i>	one that (or he that) departed for the bay ( <i>ikeq</i> )	the inhabited part at the trading-place
<i>Nu'su' ta</i>	that which has given <i>Nu'suaq</i> its name	Eskimo settlement just south of Nugsuak
<i>Nu'maq</i> or <i>No'maq</i>	? the real (proper) point of land	
<i>Nāλλuarsuk</i>	the peculiar ford	
<i>Nāλλuarsuaraq</i>	the little peculiar ford	
<i>Nāλλuarsusuaq</i>	the peculiar big ford	
<i>Kuṣiniṇuaq</i>	the little dried up river-bed point of land	
<i>Nu'luk</i>	the ugly point of land	

Disko-Bay. Here I give merely a few names although the place-names are in reality just as numerous here as elsewhere along the inhabited coasts. The bay itself has no special name, but is merely called "the sea". The sea outside is spoken of as "the real big sea". Disko Island is named *Qeqertarsuaq* (the big island); Arveprinsens Eiland is called *Alḷuittoq* or *Appāt* (the auks) after the colony of the same name which is situated on its west coast.

Place-names.	Translations (Etymology).	Remarks.
<i>Qeqertaq</i>	the island	small trading-place
<i>Talerva</i>	its fore-paw (the seal's)	(69°58' N. lat., 51°
<i>Kaniorssuit</i>	the big sea-scorpions	14' W. long.)
<i>Pisissarṗik</i>	? place where one is accus- tomed to leap, jump (or shoot with the bow and arrow)	
<i>Ana'</i>	his excrements (or: her elder brother)	Eskimo settlement
<i>Ulusṗāt</i>	? 1) the cheeks (plur. of <i>uluak</i> ) 2) a kind of stone which can be used for <i>ulo</i> (1) a woman's knife 2) har- poon-point)	
<i>Kussaṇasoq</i>	the one that slopes down	

Place-names.	Translations (Etymology).	Remarks.
<i>Arsiwick</i>	place where there is an abundance of provisions	Eskimo settlement
<i>Ata</i>	that which is below, the foot (of the slope)	small trading-place (69°43' N. lat.)
<i>Pa'kittoq</i>	something with a small opening, here: a fjord with a narrow mouth	small trading-place
<i>Qit'ermmiut</i>	the ones that live in the middle	
<i>Ana'juit</i>	? the ones that need to do their business	
<i>Sis'arisoq</i>	the pretty beach	
<i>Iluarqurt</i>	the stone pits (to keep blubber in)	
<i>Nu'kutak</i>	a clumsy point (of sand)	
<i>Sa'tukojog</i>	the flat (land) ( <i>kujo'q</i> ?)	
<i>Siororssuit</i>	? the large sands (sandy beach)	
<i>Aqajana</i>	its (his) stomach	
<i>Sar'caq</i>	current	
<i>Innaq</i>	the bluff	
<i>Qunnerssuag</i>	the big fissure	
<i>Ana'rsuit</i>	the big (many) excrements	
<i>I'q'it</i>	grass	
<i>Pikiulik</i>	the one that has a fountain-head (?)	island
<i>Anoreto'q</i>	the one rich in wind	
<i>Ka'arsuk</i>	the strange promontory	
<i>Itussa'q</i>	? continual walking over land or over a mountain ridge	
<i>Pamiua</i>	its tail	
<i>Tunnerit</i>	? the ones that have fallen down	
<i>Oqa'ttoq</i>	the cormorant	small trading-place (Rodebay 69°20' N. lat.)
<i>Qa'rssua</i>	its flat-topped cliff	
<i>Näsi'q'iq'uaq</i>	the little outlook-place	
<i>Iwia'qarnät</i>	the one resembling udders	high mountain

Place-names.	Translations (Etymology)	Remarks.
<i>Persera'utoq</i>	the one that continually (on all occasions) drifts	high mountain
<i>Qa<sup>w</sup>ssuserøik</i>	the place where nets are put out	
<i>Nuerluk</i>	one that rises a little above its surroundings (a low island?)	
<i>Oqa'ttuquit</i>	the little (few) cormorants	
<i>Kiättu't</i>	the very warm (springs?)	
<i>Paqalittoq</i>	the one that has four legs, a four-footed animal or insect	
<i>Ipiu'taq</i>	that which resembles a handle; the neck of land between a rather broad peninsula and the mainland	
<i>Sawe'rneq</i>	place where iron has been taken	
<i>Kuännerit</i>	angelicae archangelicae	
<i>Qarajaq</i>	a rounded bay right closely surrounded by cliffs	
<i>Täsera'ssaq</i>	resembling a lake	
<i>Qasiñiartu't</i>	those (places) where there are many sea-dogs (phoca vitulina)	
<i>O'ju'k</i> [ <i>ø'ju'k</i> ]	?the two <i>ø'ju'k</i> ? Gr. <i>uio</i> eeking; Gr. <i>ø's'ut</i> boiled capelans (Labr. <i>ø'jok</i> boiled meat or fish)	
<i>O'ju killæg</i>	the westernmost <i>ø'ju'k</i>	
<i>Nø'luk</i>	the evil point of land	
<i>Qasiñiarçuit</i>	the big (many) sea-dogs	
<i>Qasiñiättu't</i>	the moderately many sea-dogs	
<i>Tiñuajuk</i>	? ( <i>tiñuk</i> liver)	
<i>Itisuarsuk</i>	the peculiar deep (place)	
<i>Qaquλλuit</i>	the mallemites (kind of big gulls)	
<i>Alaηηua</i>	its shady side	

Place-names.	Translations (Etymology).	Remarks.
<i>Imussunarttat</i>	the ones that almost resemble cairns	
<i>Akinnaq</i>	the one that is just opposite	
<i>Qinunngua</i>	the little inner end of the fjord (that resembles a cave)	
<i>Qamutilissuit</i>	the ones with the big (or many) sledges	
<i>Patta<sup>u</sup>φik</i>	the ball-game-place	
<i>Ilulissät</i>	the icebergs	the colony Jakobs-havn (69°13'N.lat.)
<i>Pitorqag</i>	the wind-cañon, place where sudden gusts of wind arise	Eskimo settlement
<i>Ιλλumiut</i>	the house-dwellers	Eskimo settlement
<i>Αλλutuarsuk</i>	? the peculiar one that has a poor support or under-layer (the foot of the cliff)	
<i>Sarrluk</i>	= <i>sarrlog</i> (?), a thinner place	
<i>T<sup>er</sup>qiaq</i>	a shade for the eyes	
<i>Nuχχiumaneq</i>	the one that advances most forward	
<i>Kiqittoq</i>	that which towers up	Eskimo settlement
<i>Sermermiut</i>	the inland-ice (glacier) inhabitants	deserted Eskimo settlement
<i>No·a</i>	its point of land	here begins the big ice-fjord south of Jakobshavn
<i>Peruneq</i>	a joining	
<i>Αλλοραφικ</i>	? place where one steps (as from stone to stone) or a place where they (the birds) dive down	
<i>Amerssiwik</i>	place where one stripped the skin off	
<i>Pitorqeq kaqillæg</i>	the innermost (easternmost) path of the wind	
<i>Killæg</i>	the outermost (westernmost) one	
<i>Tuluaquit</i>	the little ravens	



Place-names.	Translations (Etymology).	Remarks.
<i>Qa'ja</i>	? his kajak	
<i>Qeqertaḡuaq</i>	the little island	
<i>Kuniätta'ḡ</i>	?	
<i>Ko'rorssuaq</i>	the big cleft	
<i>Qilakittoq</i> or <i>Qilaqittoq</i> (?)	? that which has a little sky (i. e. a little peak)	mountain
<i>Koḡuarssuk</i>	the little river (place)	
<i>Kissawiarssuit</i>	the falcons	high mountain
<i>Qaqarsuät'iaq</i>	the middling high mountain	smaller mountain be- hind the preceding one
<i>Immilik</i>	that which has water	
<i>Qo'rquṭ</i>	the groves, the valleys	
<i>A'lla'niarḡik</i>	place where one is for the purpose of shooting	
<i>Nälluarssuk</i>	the peculiar ford	
<i>Sarḡaḡuaq</i>	the little (weak) current	
<i>Qiasoq</i>	the one that weeps	bluff
<i>Quḡulerssuit</i>	the big (much) mountain sor- rel (or a similar plant)	promontory
<i>Serqua'rtoq</i>	the one that cracks (or crash- es, bangs) a little bit	promontory
<i>A'paluttoq</i>	the red one	bluff
<i>Koḡuaq</i>	the little river (brook)	
<i>Niaḡorṇnak</i>	cliff resembling a head	promontory
<i>Ippik</i>	steep clayey bank, moraine	promontory
<i>Qa'rinnerit</i>	? the ones with the prettiest (smoothest) surface	bluff
<i>Nu'luk</i>	the (hideous?) promontory	promontory
<i>Na'jata't</i>	the moderately many gulls	bluff
<i>Amüttuarsuk</i>	the peculiar narrow one	(fjord?)
<i>Naqittoq</i>	that which is low, pressed down	promontory
<i>Uperṇawik</i>	the spring- or summer-place	promontory
<i>Sorḡarssuk</i>	current	cove, inlet
<i>Pin'omiut</i>	the inhabitants of the heaps of gull-excrement	projecting bluff nearest to the inland glacier on the north side
<i>Ti'wssarisoq</i>	that which is fragrant	cove farthest in on the south side

Place-names.	Translations (Etymology).	Remarks.
<i>Qaja'</i>	its (his) kajak	promontory
<i>A<sup>u</sup>λλα<sup>u</sup>niarφik</i>	place where one is for the purpose of shooting	promontory
<i>Alaηo·ηua</i>	the little shady side	cove
<i>Qilonaneq</i>	? that which is (most) shrunk	
<i>Paλλoηajoriaq</i>	the one that lies on its side or with its face downward (- <i>joriaq</i> )	
<i>Täserarsuaq</i>	the big pond (pool)	lake
<i>Pitorqeq</i>	place where sudden gusts of wind arise, draughts of wind	
<i>Qepporsuit</i>	the big piles of stones, taluses	cove
<i>Sälliaruseq</i>	relatively the foremost one	promontory
<i>Innarsuaq</i>	the big bluff, steep mountain-slope	promontory
<i>Inna<sup>r</sup>qisog</i>	a place which has a very steep bluff	promontory
<i>Itillerssuaq</i>	the big land-passage	cove
<i>Nuφciūmaneq</i>	that which projects most forward (or up)	promontory
<i>Sällia<sup>r</sup>kasik</i>	the bad <i>Sällia</i> (that which lies in front)	promontory
<i>Makisarsuaq</i>	the big <i>makisaq</i> (= <i>makiseq</i> ? loin, hip?)	promontory
<i>Nunarsuät<sup>r</sup>iarag</i>	the little middling large land	promontory
<i>Nunarsuat<sup>r</sup>iaq</i>	the middling large land	promontory
<i>Pitorqeq</i>	draught of wind, where the wind blows hard	steep mountain
<i>Arqartarφik</i>	the usual place of descent	promontory
<i>Oqaussaq</i>	rhododendron	
<i>Tika<sup>r</sup>ηυλλik</i>	1) one that has a handle like that of a harpoon 2) the smallest species of whale-bone whale (whose dorsal fin resembles such a handle)	cove
<i>A<sup>u</sup>palutuarssuk</i>	the peculiar red one	cove
<i>Itisuarssuk</i>	the peculiar deep one	cove

Place-names.	Translations (Etymology).	Remarks.
<i>Pullātiḡuaq</i>	the little trap	promontory
<i>Ammokajaṛiaq</i>	the place where one goes right down	promontory
<i>Arqarajaq</i>	place where one has come down (the last place in the descent)	cove
<i>Majoralāt'ivik</i>	the place where there is easy ascent (or where fishes often come up?)	
<i>Uwaḡuit</i>	? (the small <i>uwa</i> or <i>ua</i> (plur.)?)	
<i>Ikkarluoluṛit</i>	the many rocks (nautical)	cove, bay
<i>Ikkatuaḡaḡ</i>	place which is always shallow	promontory
<i>Nuḡarsukataḡ</i>	?that is tired of <i>Nuḡarsuk</i>	promontory
<i>Sissarisog</i>	strand where it is passable	cove
<i>Sarḡarnertog</i>	the current-channel	promontory
<i>Sawitarḡik</i>	?place with the usual cur- rent (where everything floating drifts away with the current)	promontory at the southern point of the entrance to the fjord
<i>Eḡe</i>	the corner of the mouth, the corner	Eskimo settlement promontory
<i>Anora't'oq</i>	the one that is without a hooded cloak (or without clothes)	
<i>Mattatornaq</i>	one that resembles a person who has taken his fur- cloak off	
<i>Arḡulḡuk</i>	the bad road	
<i>Nusuāt'iaq</i>	the middling large point of land	
<i>Iḡeqortuarssuk</i>	the one with the peculiar point	
<i>Qaṛsoq</i>	the bare flat-topped cliff	
<i>Akuniḡuaq</i>	the little space between	cove
<i>Iḡḡumiut</i> or	the house-dwellers	Eskimo settlement 69° 8' N. lat.)
<i>Awannarḡit</i>	the northernmost ones	
<i>Ippik</i>	a high steep clayey slope facing the sea	clayey plain, moraine

Place-names.	Translations (Etymology).	Remarks.
<i>Iλλoηuaq</i>	the little house	
<i>Kaka</i>	interjection expressing great surprise etc.	very steep slope
<i>Inussuk</i>	resembling a person, i. e. a cairn	promontary
<i>Perqerqa'q</i>	the thing whose ends are very much bent together	
<i>Ilimanak</i>	the place where something may be expected (in the way of a capture of fish or seals)	trading-place Clavshavn (69°4' N.lat.)
<i>Napparutaruneq</i>	the place where there no longer is any <i>nap'aruta</i> , mast, upright pole (where there formerly was one)	
<i>Tuapaquit</i>	the small (or few) pebbles (washed up on the shore)	
<i>Tuapassuit</i>	the many pebbles	
<i>Nunatanuaq</i>	the little <i>nunataq</i> (land-island which projects above the ice).	promontory
<i>Poruseq</i>	the blubber-bag	
<i>Arpik</i>	? 1) Kl. Dict.: that which is troublesome, 2) = <i>Labr. akbik</i> , arctic blackberry ( <i>rubus Chamamorus</i> )	
<i>Piņuarsuk</i>	the peculiar gull-knoll (flat-topped mountain which resembles a heap of gulls' excrements)	high mountain
<i>Akuliaruseq</i>	a mountain-ridge between two bays, which resembles a nose	
<i>Qalileruneq</i>	? place which has been deprived of its cover or its top	island
<i>Na'nilik</i>	? which has the shortest one	
<i>Amulo'siwik</i>	? the place with a rounding	
<i>Iλλorsuatta't</i>	the middling large houses	

Place-names.	Translations (Etymology).	Remarks.
<i>Kiäsia</i>	its shoulder-blade	promontory
<i>Oqa<sup>t</sup>uarssuit</i>	the peculiar cormorants	
<i>Qa<sup>u</sup>si<sup>n</sup>na</i>	that which is always wet	
<i>Ilimanaquaq</i>	the little <i>Ilimanaq</i> (v. p. 365)	
<i>No<sup>r</sup>saquaq</i>	the middling small promontory	
<i>Qasiqiäñuit</i>	the little sea-dogs (phoca vitulina)	the col. Christianshaab (68° 49' N.)
<i>Aku<sup>l</sup>let</i>	the middle ones	small trading-place (Akugdlit)
<i>Ikamiut</i>	?the ones that dwell over there ( <i>ikamiormiut</i> , the dwellers of <i>Ikamiut</i> )	small trading-place (68° 37' N. lat.)
<i>Iti<sup>l</sup>lermiut</i>	the point-dwellers; those who dwell where one carries the boats over	
<i>No<sup>k</sup></i>	point of land	Eskimo settlement
<i>Niwa<sup>k</sup></i>	?shoveled or shoved aside (< <i>nivappoq</i> )	small trading-place
<i>Nalikak</i>	the angle between the legs as between the legs of a Greenlandic lamp	branches of the fjord south of <i>Niwa<sup>k</sup></i>
<i>A<sup>u</sup>sia<sup>t</sup></i>	the spiders	the colony Egedesminde (68° 42')
<i>Qeqertarssuaq</i>	the big island	Disko Island, especially the name of the colony Godhavn
<i>Qarsut</i>	the flat cliff	Godhavn
<i>Ilvileq</i>	land that appears to be an island by itself, but is connected with the mainland or a larger island	Godhavn
<i>Anisüt</i>	?	Eskimo settlement on Grønne Eylænder (Green Islands), inhabited only during the summer
<i>Kittisuaññuit</i>	the little western ones	Grønne Eylænder (Green Islands)



Place-names.	Translations (Etymology).	Remarks.
<i>Kittissuarsuit</i>	the peculiar western ones	Hunde Eyland (Dog Island), small trading-place
<i>Kittissut</i>	those toward the west	Kronprinsens Eyland (the Crown-prince's Island) small trading-place
<i>Qummarφik</i>	place where one makes water (= <i>quisarφik</i> < <i>qo'q</i> urine)	Brændevinsskæret (Brandy Reef)
<i>Killermiut</i>	the westernmost inhabitants	Vester Eyland (West Island) Eskimo settlement
<i>Manermiut</i>	moss-dwellers	small trading-place on the west coast
<i>Qeqertarsua'tt'iaq</i> <i>Iñannaq</i>	the middling large island ?	small trading-place: the northernmost inhabitants at the trading-place
<i>Akuλλε't</i> <i>Qaniki(t)</i>	the middle ones ?(the nearest ones?)	the southernmost inhabitants at the trading-place
<i>Kaqa'tt'iaq</i>	the point that projects moderately much (in the direction of the sea)	small trading-place (68°18' N. lat.)
<i>Qipin'asoaq</i>	that which is warped, very crooked	Eskimo settlement (1 house) by the <i>Aulätsiwick</i> Fjord
<i>Quseq</i>	?	cove or bay near the settlement

The following places are all in the valley of the *Aulätsiwick* Fjord (68° 12' N. lat.):

Place-names.	Translations (Etymology).	Remarks.
<i>Arqittoq</i>	the nameless one (?)	Eskimo settlement on a little island
<i>Oqa'ttut</i>	the cormorants	island

Place-names.	Translations (Etymology).	Remarks
<i>Qeqertaq</i>	the island	the largest island in the group
<i>Ukalilik</i>	the one which has hares	island
<i>Mapparsuit</i>	the big clay-plains	between <i>Arqittoq</i> and <i>Niaqornarsuk</i>
<i>Niaqornarsuk</i>	the peculiar head (a mountain-knoll resembling a head at the end of a tongue of land)	mountain and Eskimo settlement ( $68^{\circ}16'$ N. lat.)
<i>Umiarsv'ssaq</i>	the one which resembles an umiak (boat rowed by women)	island
<i>Nättoralik</i>	the one that has an eagle (eagle's nest?)	mountain
<i>Niaqornarsussuaq</i>	the big <i>Niaqornarsuk</i> (v. s.).	
<i>Perlerqotaq</i>	? < <i>perluk</i> , storm, i. e. the place which attracts the storm	
<i>Nässuit</i>	the horns	
<i>Nät'ernoq</i>	which resembles a floor (just as flat)	
<i>Tuttoqajasog</i>	the place where one easily may encounter reindeer	
<i>Serqartog</i>	the black guillemot-catcher	island
<i>Aläññorleu</i>	the one that is farthest over in the direction of the shady side	island
<i>Aläññorlā'ra</i>	the little <i>Aläñ'orleg</i> (v. s.)	island
<i>Qeqertasussuk</i>	the strange or curious island (-sussuk, curious?)	large island east of the three small ones
<i>A'ulāt'iwik</i>	place where there is disturbance or whirls (in the water)	Eskimo settlement ( $68^{\circ}11'$ N. lat.)
<i>Itiv'älleg</i>	carry-over-place (small tongue of land between two bodies of water where one can carry the boat over)	Eskimo summer-settlement
<i>Sarqarsuaq</i>	the strong current	narrowing of the fjord

Place-names.	Translations (Etymology).	Remarks.
<i>Qorsonittoq</i>	the one that tastes or smells like urine	island ( <i>Tarajornitsoq</i> on the map)
<i>Tunortoq</i>	? the one that lies behind	larger island
<i>Arqersiorqik</i>	the whaling-place	the sea south of the islands
<i>Narsa'rsuk</i>	the peculiar plain	the names <i>Narsa'rsuk</i> to <i>Nā<sup>w</sup>suttoq</i> belong to the southern side of the fjord
<i>Iti<sup>w</sup>lersuaq</i>	the big carry-over-place	
<i>Iti<sup>w</sup>lä'raq</i>	the little carry-over-place	
<i>Iti<sup>w</sup>liarsuk</i>	the peculiar carry-over-place	
<i>Qasiñiüttat</i>	the middling large sea-dogs (phoca vitulina)	
<i>Nu'arsorqik</i>	?	
<i>Isersiutit</i>	? haze (< <i>iseq</i> )	
<i>Nā<sup>w</sup>ssuttoq</i> (or- <i>o'q</i> )	that which is well hidden	
<i>Orlerqik</i>	place where one aims with the spear or the arrow	cove on the northern side of the fjord (at the inner end)
<i>Ixxawinissup ilua</i>	the interior of the country with the cooking-place	cove
<i>Sarqa'rsuk</i>	the peculiar current-channel	the sound between <i>Tunortoq</i> Island and the mainland
<i>Qarλutoq</i>	the one that uses its lips ( <i>qarλoq</i> ), especially with reference to birds: chirp, sing. (here with reference to a waterfall)	the big northern branch of the fjord with Nordenskiöld's Glacier
<i>Omerλut</i>	whiskers on a seal's or reindeer's lips (about a kind of heather?)	mountain north of <i>Tunortoq</i>

The following are the names of some of the places where the inhabitants of *Niagornarsuk* draw up their umiaks (boats rowed by women) in the summer after they have rowed up the fjord for many days in order to hunt reindeer. During

that time they live like *illuwiṇaq*-dwellers (*ik'vik-äm'it*), that is to say, in summer-huts or hunting-huts erected on the hunting-grounds and constructed of turf. These huts dispense with the long entrance-passage and have small windows of gut-skin. Sometimes they sleep out of doors merely under a reindeer-skin fastened to a cliff and continue the expedition farther in the next morning. Besides they also carry tents with them which they use at fitting times and places.

Place-names.	Translations (Etymology).	Remarks.
<i>Um'wik</i> (or <i>Um-m'wik</i> )	the boat-place, where the boat is drawn up and kept during the reindeer-hunt	
<i>Arpartaq</i>	the new descent	
<i>Ka'torassät</i>	= <i>ka'toris'ät</i> ? whale-louse (plur.)	
<i>Sännerut</i>	a cross-bar (over one or more supports), the cross-piece	
<i>Ergalumio</i>	salmon (place-)dwellers	
<i>Ussuit</i>	the ground-seals ( <i>phoca barbata</i> )	

The following are the names of some of the places where the *Niarqornarsuk*-dwellers dance in the summer by the hunting-grounds, and where they often meet with other Greenlanders who live farther away. One of them plays the violin, another, the harmonica. The dances, like the melodies, are old-fashioned (Scotch?) reels and peasant-dances which the Greenlanders have learned from the Danish seamen and (in earlier times) from Dutch whale-fishers.

Place-names.	Translations (Etymology).	Remarks.
<i>Qasiṇiättaq</i>	the middling large sea-dogs	
<i>Iti'w'liarsog</i>	(-arsog = <i>arsuk</i> ?) the (peculiar?) place where one walks over land when out travelling	

Place-names.	Translations (Etymology).	Remarks.
<i>Ipiutarsog</i>	where there is a handle ( <i>ipe</i> ) i. e. a narrow neck between a peninsula and the mainland	
<i>Arqarta'q</i>	the new descent	
<i>Nu'a'rsuk</i>	the peculiar point of land	
<i>Sa'rñuättag</i>	? the rather flat one (or ones)	



## VII. Eskimo Music from North-Greenland.

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In ethnographical museums, Eskimo musical instruments are unknown with the exception of the drum. It seems as if the Eskimo have never known nor used any other artificial musical instrument than this. Still they find pleasure in music, namely in the music that is produced by means of that natural human instrument, the vocal chords. Wherever Eskimo have been found in their natural state, they have known the art of singing, but we know nothing about what outside influences may have given rise to their manner of singing.

Before the coming of the Europeans, the Greenlanders' ideas about music were undoubtedly very different from ours. Even if the melodies from North-Greenland given here, which have come down from olden times, contained no evidence of this difference, we should be able to infer it from those specimens of Eskimo music which we have from other branches of this race\*). On comparing all these specimens, we find that there must be a certain primitive musical culture among the Eskimo and that this musical tradition is to be traced far back in time; for the music in all of these specimens is highly characteristic and its style is always easy to recognize even in songs heard for the first time. It is not only monotony that characterizes these songs — for that is a feature in all kinds of primitive music — but rather certain stereotyped or traditional relations between the few tones constituting the Eskimo

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\*) F. Boas: *The Central Eskimo* (Sixth annual report of the Bureau of Ethnology (Smithsonian Institution) 1884—85. Washington 1888). — R. Stein: *Eskimo Music* (The White World. New York 1902 and Globus Vol. LXXXIII).

scale, together with certain traditional rhythms. The latter perhaps owe their peculiarity to the fact that the songs for the most part are sung for the first time to the accompaniment of the drumstick's steady beat. — The melodies themselves, however, do not seem to be very stable; at least I have not succeeded in finding one and the same melody preserved both in and outside of Greenland, for instance in Boas's collection from Baffins Land or in Stein's from Smith Sound. But the material furnished by these collections is to be sure rather deficient when it comes to making such a comparison. There is no doubt, however, that the style of the songs is everywhere the same.

I found that the Greenlanders are as a rule musical. They are quick at catching tunes and can repeat what they have heard with exactness. I conclude this from the ease with which they pick up European melodies. It is worth noticing that when these melodies are adopted by the Greenlanders, it is only very gradually that they seem to become modified by the more naïve national style, with which they in reality never wholly assimilate. The new melodies (songs or dances from Europe) are preferred as being prettier than their own, which are therefore in most places in danger of being forgotten. It was not until I came north of the *Nvssuaq* (Nugsuak) Peninsula that I found them in any great numbers. It is always easy to distinguish the genuine Eskimo melody from the imported one. — Of the following melodies, no. 2 to 5, also no. 8 and no. 12 were communicated to me by a native *ujoge* ("kateket") or school-teacher (Martin M., *Iλλorsuit*). It is obvious that they are originally genuine Eskimo melodies, but have partly become somewhat modernized, both with respect to rhythm and melody, because the man who communicated them to me was more familiar with European music than is the case with ordinary Eskimo hunters (cf. the end of no. 3). No. 100 and the lullaby at the end of the collection have more of a European stamp and are probably of foreign

origin like so many other melodies that have become popular in West Greenland. Especially pretty and genuine in sound is no. 99 (written down in Rodebay near Jakobshavn).

I have always taken down and reproduced the songs in the key intoned by the individuals themselves. As for the female voices I have always put them an octave lower. As a rule the Greenlanders sing in tune, but now and then I had to take down the melodies after individuals who were less certain in their intonation, and on those occasions it often occurred to me that the intervals of our staff might be too great or that the fixed values of our notes might not be adapted for all the Eskimo's tones. But aside from such occasional circumstances, I did not get the impression that our staff was unsatisfactory for the notation of this kind of music or that the Greenlander makes use of more minute or different intervals than those we have in our music.

As a rule I do not introduce the songs with any indications of key and measure because both of these often shift within the same song, and particularly because neither of them corresponds to what is generally understood by those terms in civilized music. It often seemed rather arbitrary to me to mark off bars, yet in most cases I have done it to the best of my ability. The qualitative value of the tones, that is their pitch, I found easier to determine than their quantitative and rhythmical values. But I acknowledge my lack of practise in taking down records of this kind and I leave to those who are more competent to criticize and utilize this material.

The tempo in the songs I estimate to shift between *andante* and *allegretto* \*).

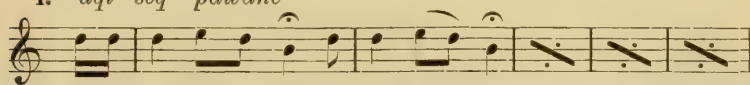
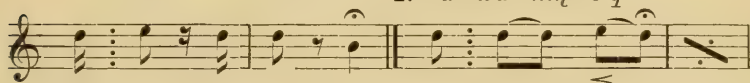
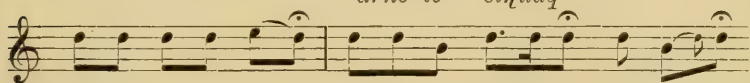
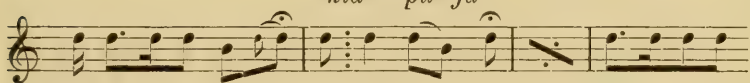
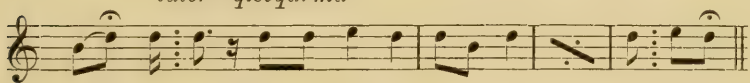
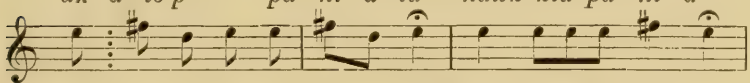
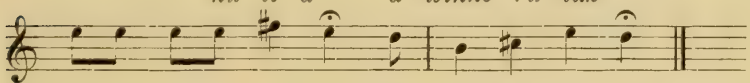
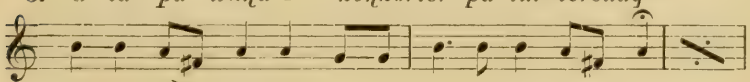
The mark  $\curvearrowright$  on the music-line indicates that the preceding measure is to be repeated unchanged.

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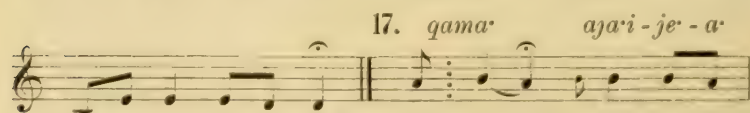
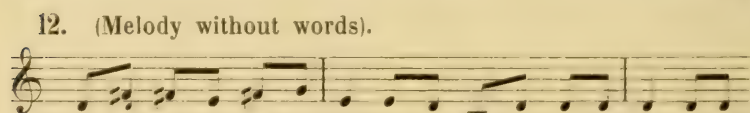
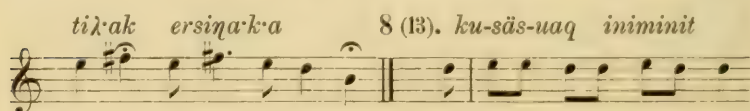
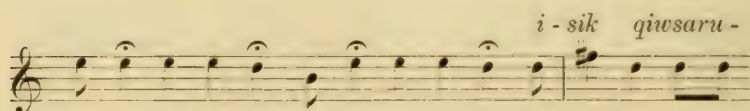
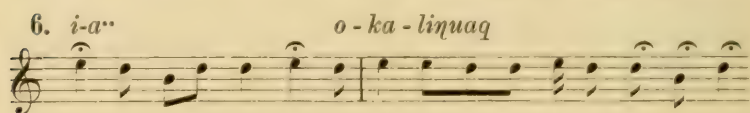
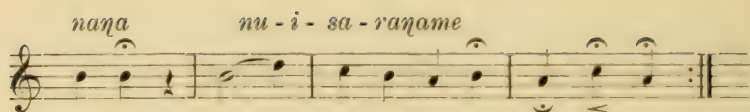
\*) When the Greenlanders sing their hymns to ours melodies, they have a tendency to draw the tones out very long and to make our *andante* into a Greenlandic *adagio*.

## The melodies of the Songs.

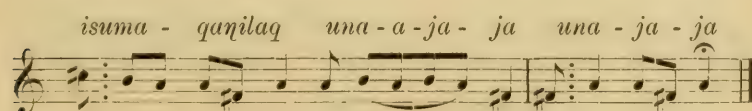
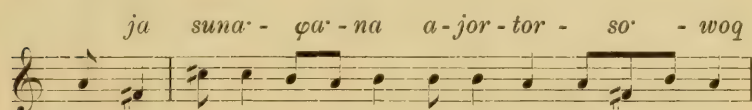
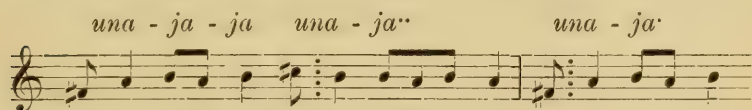
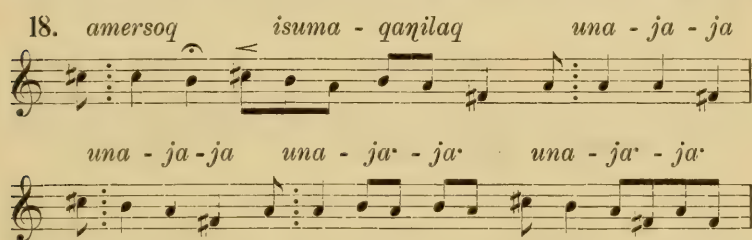
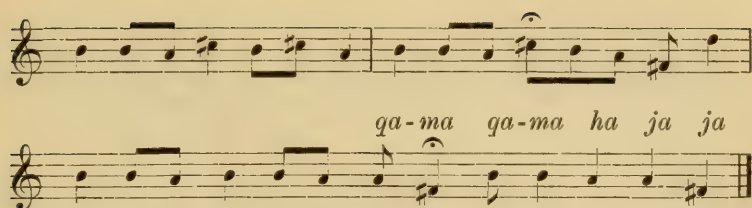
The numbers correspond to the numbers of the texts pp. 289-313.

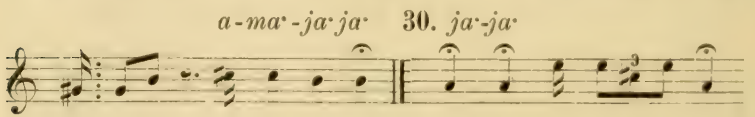
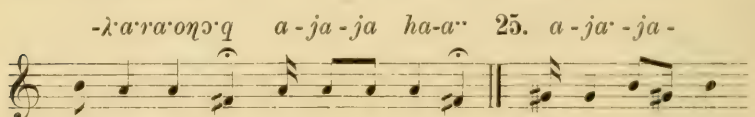
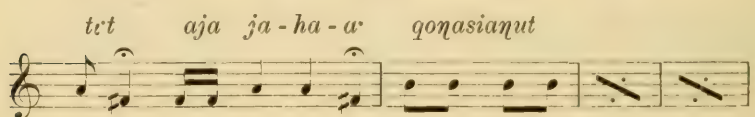
1. *aqi-seq paivane*2. *a-wa-niη-ᵛq**arne-le - siηuaq**kia pu-ja**taler - qiseqarma**al-a-toᵑ pa-ni-ä-ta nauk kia pa-ni-a**nu-li-a a-winne-ru-luk*3. *a-ta pa-waηa - koηkörtör-pa-lut-törsuaq**erqe la-raηama*4. *noη-mit ka-*











*ut - o - mik*

*ut- ut - o - tori-*

*artor - poηa - aja'' ja a ja - aja - a'*

*a - ja' ja' 33. uja - si - soηa tupa-*

*sius'oηa aja ja-a ja ja qulcäs'oηa*

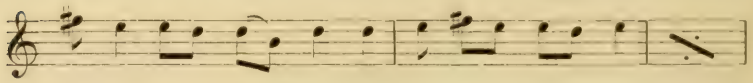
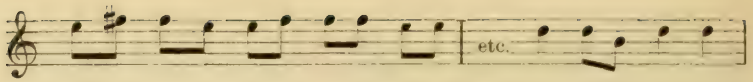
*aja*

*aja - ja' ja' ja' 34. u - sut-i - a i - ma' - qa - wutit*

*aja aja' aja'*

*aη - o - pin - o - p tikiη - aηa - tit aη - o - pinη - o - p ti - kiη -*

*aηa - te' qis'er - tarta - ligaw - sala - ra° - tit*



36. i-mi - ka - ju - to - kaw-sa - t u-iŋ-er



sä-ler-su-ak-a aja

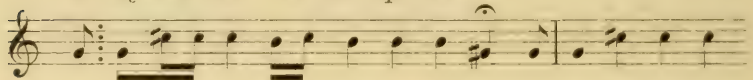


aja

a'-ja 38. a-ma aja



i - tiŋ - ua - ra ta - kor - qil - a - ra



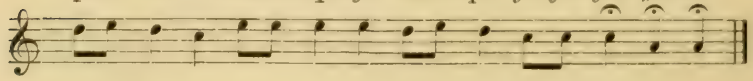
a - ja ja 45. amar-



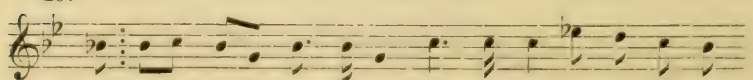
qa - ja ta - kor - nar - pi - uk a - tw - tar - piŋ - u - na



pisi - a amar-qa-ja ama-qa ja ja ja ja



49.





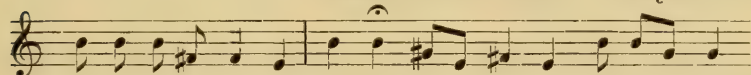
ja' ja' je'q 63. i-maqa qawko u-lu-ar-qu-tot



i - maqa qawko u-lu-ar-qu-tot i - maqa qawko



auk'ar-nia - ritse as-anu-ar-



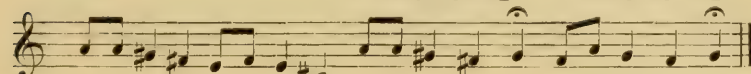
nia - ritse a - kinə - paη - uaq er-si-lar-taη-uaq



68. i-la-me uηa - tarne



u-waη-aη-uaq u-waη-aη-uaq



72. pawaηa<sup>w</sup>ja' aja'-ja'



pawaηa





aje' - ja'  
 pu-jon-a pa-wan-a aje' - ja'  
 ja ja'' 73. man'a''  
 u-sor-iλ'-a''-ka'' iwn - ertu - mik  
 man'a a-je' aja'' aja'  
 o-wan-a a-jor-pon-a i - - la'' ta'miu-  
 arner 74. aja - - je - - a ja'' ja' ja je-  
 etc. ||  
 a - ja'  
 qu-man-a-s'u-ar-suk malañ'' qernertu - - - narsua'  
 aja' ja ja ja ja 78. masale suliäs-

*ak'a iw-ka-lut-ut aja*

*awa ja pusarisa'li-laruk'it imar - - qalas'o'η'a*

*aja awa'ja nulia-*

*re'le-ro - - tika inerqu - - naralo - - tua - - qis'oq*

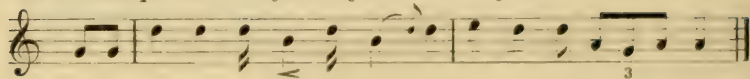
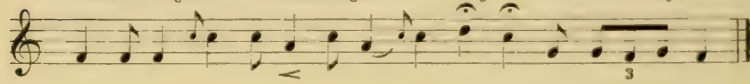
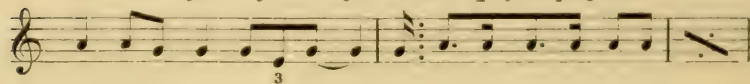
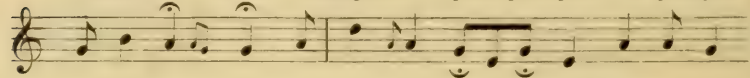
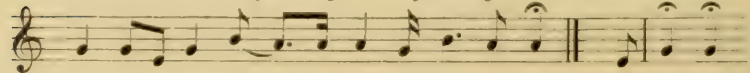
*aja*

*awa'ja 79. i - mer - qu - ta'lä - tw't*

*ta - ler - qa - la' - rawit aja*

*i - siη - u - an' - ile i - siη - u - an' - ile*

*qu'le-r-us-il-oη-it mer-qu-si-wit-u-l'e etc.*

81<sup>a</sup>. *ima-qa'na ku-jäl'-aη-a'ne a'-ja*81<sup>b</sup>. *qutv- kεwλoηun'a galasarsu-**atiηut kεw- λoη-un' - a a'-ja säwna'-uja' i - si-**suät - iηut tutiwλoηun'a a'-ja' säwna'-uija'*83. *aj - ät' - ia - la-q aj - ät' - ia - la-q awo-ηa' ja' - ja'**iη - er - su - a' - na'**iη - er - su - a' - - - - na' awo - ηa' ja'**a' - a' - ja' ja' - - ja' kun-er-qa-jar-qaη-ak'o**-ak'o' awoη-a' ja' - ja' ja' a - ja - ja'**ja- ajät'iaη ajät'iaη 86. awo-a'*

*kr'same ila'ma iχiaηua - - ra'una*

*näli - siule - qa'η'a awa'-ja' ja'-ja' 87. awa'*

*sunawuqa man'a iwηerniarneq nukaηän'arqa'q*

99. (*Ata', Disko Bay*)

*sv'lo tiλ'e amer - λermi - ut qaqa-jar - pat*

*-se a - ta - le - a' jar - pat qaqa-*


*naloη-*


100. *ka - ka' - jänu - arlo paganuk ka ka' - jän - o'p si-*


*u - tiηu - ak'ut ke'waηa' a-*

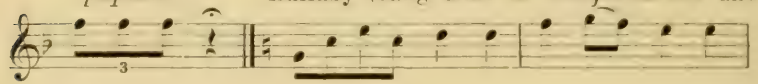
*ke - wa - ra*

## Children's Games no. 10.

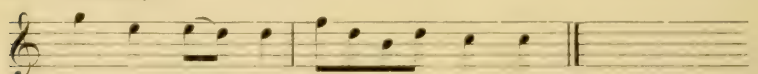
*to'lian to'lian to'lian - ta' qinili qinili*  


*qinlista o'ko - tale v'-*  


*ma - le at - or - maη - a uqale uqale*  


*puputit* Lullaby (sung alike in Niagornarsuk and  


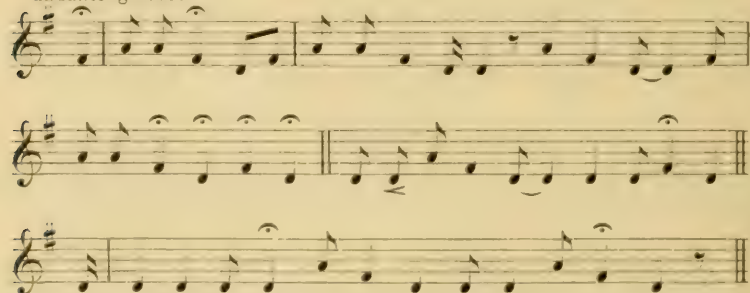
in Ił-orsuit).



## Variant of melody no. 4 (from Jakobshavn).

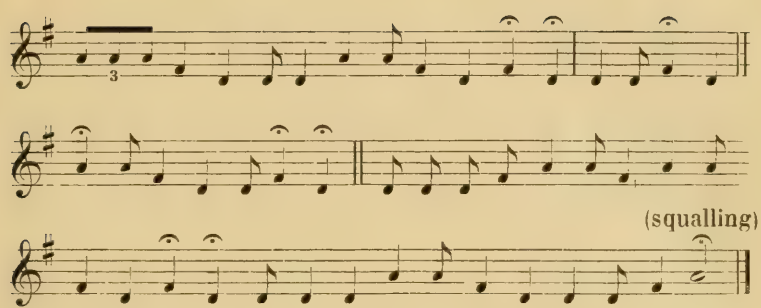
*noηmit kana - η'a jawje'e*  


## Drum-song from the east coast (Ammassalik)\*):

*andante giocoso.*  


\* ) Written down after the phonograph brought home by C. Kruuse (1902).







ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.



I shall here take up several important points about which I have obtained or found new information while the work was going through the press. Almost a year intervened between the printing of the first and the last parts of the manuscript; the first proof-sheet was dated September 12, 1903, the last, September 14, 1904. On reading the proof-sheets I often found it necessary to make many corrections and additions. Much of the proof-reading I did during a stay in Berlin which caused the printing to progress somewhat slowly and even to be interrupted for a short period. Even if the subject that I have investigated is not one about which we are continually hearing something new, yet many months cannot pass without some change in the state of knowledge in this department. A whole year is bound to bring new contributions. Neither have I ceased in my own research and of course the results of my research have been of more significance for the latter part of the work than for the part that was already printed. This will be sufficiently evident from the following concluding remarks.

ad p. 19.

For further information about Lahontan (or La Hontan) see for instance M. J. E. Roy: *Le baron de La Hontan* (Transact. Roy. Soc. Canada, 1894) and Fr. de Nion: *Voyages au Canada du Baron de la Hontan*. Paris 1900.

ad pp. 20—21.

*Nepisiguit*. On older maps the forms of this name vary: *Nepegigouit* (the Jesuit Relation 1643), *Nepegiquiti* (Creuxius' Latin map 1660) *Nepiguit* and *Nepiziguit* (Denys 1672), cited in W. Ganong: *A Monograph of the Place-nomenclature of the Province of New Brunswick* (Proceed. and Transact. Roy. Soc. Canada, 2<sup>nd</sup> Series, Vol. II, 1896), cf. *Monograph of the Cartography of the Province of New Brunswick* by the same author (ibid. Vol. III, 1897). The ending *-guit* is also found in the river names *Guisiguit* and *Pisiguit* in the same region. According to Cuoq: *Lexique de la langue Algonquine* (Montreal 1886) the



meaning of *nipi* in this language is water. Ganong (v. s. p. 256) tries to explain *Nepisquit* by the aid of the Micmac language where we have the word *Win-peg-ij-a-nik*, rough water, but this seems less plausible. A. F. Chamberlain (in *The Eskimo Race and Language*. Proceed. Canad. Inst. Toronto 3. Series, Vol. VI, 1887—88, p. 276) claims that this stem, which is found in many Algonkin languages (*nipi*, water; *nipa*, die; sleep; night; moon), is a loanword in the West and Central Eskimo languages (M. *nipaluk*, rain; L. *nip̄taipok*, cf. Gr. *niw̄taip̄oq*, it snows; etc.); but he has no doubt confused different stems.

The Greenlandic word *nipisa*, a wolf-fish, which also occurs in Labrador with the same meaning, is naturally to be connected with the stem in the verb *nip̄ippoq*, hangs fast, sticks fast (like porridge in a pot) etc.

The ending *-quit* is a common diminutive suffix in Greenlandic (in the plural) but it must be remembered that according to the principles of the present language it would be irregular for the final *a* of the stem-word (*nipisa*) to be changed to *i* before this suffix.

*Tadoussak* (p. 21). In Greenlandic *tarto* (L. *takto*), a kidney; suffix *-ussaq*, resembling it. Cf. *Tart̄v̄ssaq* (place-name) p. 337.  
ad p. 32.

In a recently published work by A. A. Björnbo and Carl S. Petersen: *Fyenboen Claudius Clausson Swart* (Claudius Clavus), *Nordens ældste Kartograf. En Monografi. Avec un résumé en français* (Det Kgl. Danske Vidensk. Selsk. Skrifter, 6. Række, historisk og filosofisk Afd. VI, 2. København 1904), there is given an undoubtedly correct and final explanation of the place-names in Greenland found on the old maps. It appears that not only are they all Danish words which probably Claudius Clavus himself has attached arbitrarily to rivers and promontories along both coasts of the land, but also that when they are read connectedly in the order in which they stand on the map, from north to south along the east coast and from south to north

along the west coast, they compose a strophe of an old Danish popular ballad. — After this discovery, I must accordingly make some change in my remarks about these place-names. The word *Nice-fluvius* on the maps has probably no connection with ON. hnísa.

ad p. 43.

Even if Cranz's information does not refer to East Greenlanders living as far north as the inhabitants of Angmagsalik (which I now consider rather improbable), still it shows that at that time too there was a striking difference between the dialect of the northern East Greenlanders and that of the southern West Greenlanders, whereas the dialectal differences between the same East Greenlanders and the northern West Greenlanders was not so great.

The Eskimo at Cape York seem to have been mentioned for the first time by Poul Egede in his Journal p. 239 (for the year 1771), where he says: A colony has been founded this year at a point 73° N. Lat. on the island Upernavik, the native name, which signifies spring-place, having been retained. The next year an ordained parson and a native "kateket" are sent up there. The land here is found to be lower than it is farther south and consists almost wholly of islands; it extends in a north-easterly direction and afterwards, as the Greenlanders say, in a more easterly direction as soon as one has passed to the north of the so-called Iisblink (glacier). There are also said to be inhabitants farther north at 75 degrees, and might it not be worth the trouble to try to get there, since the passage is not so endangered by ice as the passage to Österbygd etc.

ad pp. 49—60. Bibliographical Survey.

It is not my intention to make this complete, but merely to call attention to some additional works which contain specimens of the Eskimo language and might therefore be of use to the comparative philologist.

a) Original lists of words from the language of the West Eskimo taken down on expeditions to Alaska and Tschuktsch Peninsula are to be found in various works by Russian authors which are mentioned in Pilling's Bibliography, for instance in the works about the expedition of J. Billings (1785—94) vid. in Pilling Sauer; Lisiansky (1803—06); G. A. Saricheff vid. Robeck; Davidoff (1810—12); F. v. Wrangel (1821—23), vid. K. v. Baer; L. A. Zagoskin (1842—44); Zelenie; Furuholm etc.

I may also mention here James Cook (cf. the survey p. 51, no. 8); W. H. Hooper; F. Whympere; A. Pinart; W. H. Dall cf. the survey p. 56, no. 49); Aurel Krause, for the titles of whose work the reader is referred to Pilling.

Copious specimens and lists of words from the East Eskimo in Baffin Land, besides those found in the works of Fr. Boas already mentioned (cf. the survey no. 16 and 24), are also to be found in the following articles by the same author: Eskimo Tales and Songs (Journal of Amer. Folk-Lore Vol. II, 1889, Vol. VII, 1894 and Vol. X, 1897) and Der Eskimo-Dialekt des Cumberland-Sundes (Mittheilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien. Vol. XXIV, Wien 1894).

Linguistic notes about the Eskimo around Smith Sound, besides those in the works mentioned in the survey (cf. the survey no. 25 and 26), are also to be found in Cl. Markham: 1) The Arctic Highlanders (Ethnol. Soc. of London, Trans. Vol. 4, London 1866), 2) Language of the Eskimo of Greenland (Royal Geogr. Soc. of London, Arctic Geography and Ethnology, London 1875) and in A. L. Kroeber (cf. the survey no. 23): 1) Animal Tales of the Eskimo (Journ. Amer. Folklore Vol. XII, 1899), 2) Tales of the Smith Sound Eskimo (ibid.).

d) It is only the second edition of Barton's book (cf. the survey no. 60) that contains Eskimo words (from Cranz). In the first edition there is only one word (p. 67 *nuna*).

Between nos. 63 and 64 of the survey is to be inserted C. R. Lepsius: Standard Alphabet for reducing unwritten languages and foreign graphic systems to a uniform orthography in European letters (2. ed., London and Berlin 1863), in which Greenlandic is treated (pp. 289—291) and where there is a review of Kleinschmidt's orthography.

ad p. 65.

A series of articles from the magazine *Atuagagdliutit* have been translated into English by H. Rink and are included in his "Danish Greenland, its People and its Products". London 1877, pp. 230—267.

ad p. 71 (Phonetics § 2).

While there is no doubt that *k t p* occur sometimes with and sometimes without strong aspiration in Greenlandic, yet it may be difficult to determine in which words or cases these sounds are aspirated. In remarking that the aspiration is found before the vowels *i e u*, I do not mean that we always find it or that we find it in all words before these vowels. I have — perhaps too hastily — formulated a general rule or "law" on the basis of occasional cases. It is perhaps necessary to systematize the cases in some other way — if they can be systematized at all.

ad pp. 86—87.

[χ] This sound has some resemblance to the German ich-sound and differs from the ach-sound in that it lacks the uvular friction. Its place of articulation is therefore probably farther forward in the mouth than I had determined, though not as far forward as is the case with the German ich-sound. I estimate its field of variation to lie between  $\gamma^i$  and  $\gamma^{h(hg)}$ .

There is a similar difference in articulation between the [q]-sound and the fricative in German "Tage".

The Gr. [ρ]-sound on the other hand has the uvular friction in a high degree and might be described as an exaggerated German ach-sound ( $\gamma^{kl}$ ).



ad pp. 190—191 etc.

By *tç* I designate a single uncombined palatal sound partly articulated with the blade of the tongue, the point of the tongue remaining passive. In the beginning in my notes on East Greenlandic I sometimes used *tjs* to designate the same sound.

pp. 188—189 etc.

*r* designates a voiceless *r*, that is, about the same as *ρ* but without the strong aspiration that characterizes the latter sound.

ad p. 186 and 196—197 (§ 31).

After this section had been printed I was informed that at about the same time the printers had on hand an article by Pastor Schultz-Lorentzen: "Eskimoernes Indvandring i Grönland" (The Immigration of the Eskimo into Greenland), an article intended for publication in "Meddelelser om Grönland" Vol. XXVI. In this work we have for the first time a closer investigation of a dialect-division on the southern part of the west coast, namely at Godthaab. All along the coast south of this colony we find the unrounded vowels *i* and *e* — just as in East Greenlandic — in all those words which in the territory north of this colony have *u* and *o*. Cf. my dialect survey pp. 196—197.

ad pp. 228—229 (§ 32).

It was not until after I had written this that I came across F. Boas's Notes on the Eskimo of Port Clarence in Journ. Amer. Folk-Lore, Vol. VII (1894). Port Clarence is situated in Alaska at the narrows of Bering Strait, accordingly somewhat farther north than those Eskimo whose language Barnum has described. In the language-specimens given by Boas here, the uvular tenuis occurs just about as frequently as in Boas's specimens of the East Eskimo language. Here I find written *umiaq*, *qayaq*, *qipik* (blanket), *kapitaq* (watertight), *nirijog* (eating), *a'q̄tik* (mittens), *nanuq* (polar bear), *arnaq* (woman), etc. We have therefore every reason to believe that as far as this sound is



concerned there has been no deviation from the East Eskimo consonant-system before reaching this point (accordingly also at Pt. Barrow) and then it is also less probable that the dialect described by Barnum lacks this sound in so high a degree as his manner of designating the sounds would lead us to suppose.

### The map.

1) The Eskimo living farthest south on the west coast of America are — according to W. H. Dall (Tribes of the Extreme Northwest) — *Ugalakmut* (-*miut*?), who also inhabit the island *Kayak*. On this side of America too they must have lived farther south in earlier times, as far down as Stikine River or even still farther south, as is evident from the kitchen-middens that have been found there (between 56—57° N. lat.).

2) Dall's and Nelson's maps have the ending -*mut* in the names of the tribes, while the suffix with this signification otherwise generally has the form -*miut*. That the latter form is present in the Alaska language too is confirmed both by Ray and by Barnum (Gr. § 102). Is it not possible that the other spelling is to be explained by the fact that the maps have been compiled after Russian maps where the letter *ю* is used for *iu*?

3) News has just been received from "The Danish Literary Greenland Expedition" that they have traversed the district around Melville Bay and that everywhere along the coast they have found old ruins of Eskimo houses, which testifies to the correctness of my hypothesis as to the West Greenlanders' emigration to South Greenland from the north.



Table of comparison  
between  
the symbols in Kleinschmidt's orthography and my own.

Kleinschmidt's orthography	Symbols used in this work
<i>a</i>	= <i>a ä ä a ä ä</i>
<i>â</i>	= <i>a' a'</i>
<i>agt</i>	= <i>ä't ä't</i>
<i>agdl</i>	= <i>äλ'</i>
<i>agss</i>	= <i>ä'ζ' äζ'</i>
<i>ai</i>	= <i>a'ι a'ι a'ε a'ε</i>
<i>au</i>	= <i>a'w a'u a'o</i>
<i>dl</i>	= <i>λ</i>
<i>e</i>	= <i>e ə ε e è ë</i>
<i>f</i>	= <i>φ</i>
<i>g</i>	= <i>g</i>
<i>gdl</i>	= <i>λ'</i>
<i>gf</i>	= <i>φ'</i>
<i>gg</i>	= <i>χ</i>
<i>gk</i>	= <i>k</i>
<i>gs</i>	= <i>ζ</i>
<i>gt</i>	= <i>t</i>
<i>h</i>	= <i>h</i>
<i>i</i>	= <i>i ι</i>
<i>î</i>	= <i>ε'</i>
<i>igt</i>	= <i>it' üt'</i>
<i>igdl</i>	= <i>iλ' üt'</i>
<i>j</i>	= <i>j</i>
<i>k</i>	= <i>k</i>
<i>κ</i>	= <i>q</i>

Kleinschmidt's orthography	Symbols used in this work
<i>l</i>	= <i>l</i>
<i>m</i>	= <i>m</i>
<i>n</i>	= <i>n</i>
<i>ng</i>	= <i>η</i>
<i>ngn</i>	= <i>~n' 'n'</i>
<i>ngm</i>	= <i>~m' 'm'</i>
<i>o</i>	= <i>o o ɔ ɔ ɔ</i>
<i>p</i>	= <i>p</i>
<i>r</i>	= <i>r r</i>
<i>rng</i>	= <i>rη rη</i>
<i>rr</i>	= <i>ρ'</i>
<i>s</i>	= <i>s</i>
<i>ss</i>	= <i>s' ζ'</i>
<i>t</i>	= <i>t</i>
<i>tdl</i>	= <i>λ</i>
<i>ts</i>	= <i>t<sup>s</sup> ts</i>
<i>u</i>	= <i>u ü u ö ü</i>
<i>û</i>	= <i>u' ü'</i>
<i>v</i>	= <i>w</i>
<i>vf</i>	= <i>φ' wφ</i>

'*p* '*t* '*k* = '*p* '*t* '*k*  
'*n* '*m* = '*n* '*m*

The sign - = vowel

## Signs and abbreviations.

- \* before a word indicates that the word is a reconstructed (hypothetical) form.
  - < the word (the syllable or the sound) to the left of the sign has originated from that to the right or is genetically secondary when compared with it;
  - > vice versa.
  - the words on both sides of the sign are genetically connected or doublets.
  - (quantity), ' (stress), ˊ (pitch), ˙ (stop), ˘ (nasalization), vid. Tab. I.
- Alphabetical signs according to O. Jespersen's system.  
vid. Tab. II.

Gr. = Greenlandic.

Kl. Ordb., Kl. Dict. = S. Kleinschmidt's Grönlandske Ordbog,  
vid. Bibliographical Survey no. 34, p. 54.

\*Kl. = the word cited is not in Kleinschmidt's Ordb.

Kl. Gr. = S. Kleinschmidt's Grammatik der grönländischen  
sprache, vid. Bibliographical Survey no. 47, p. 56.

Rasm. Ordb. = J. Kjer and Chr. Rasmussen: Dansk-grönlandsk  
Ordbog, with a Greenlandic-Danish supplement, vid. Biblio-  
graphical Survey no. 38, p. 54.

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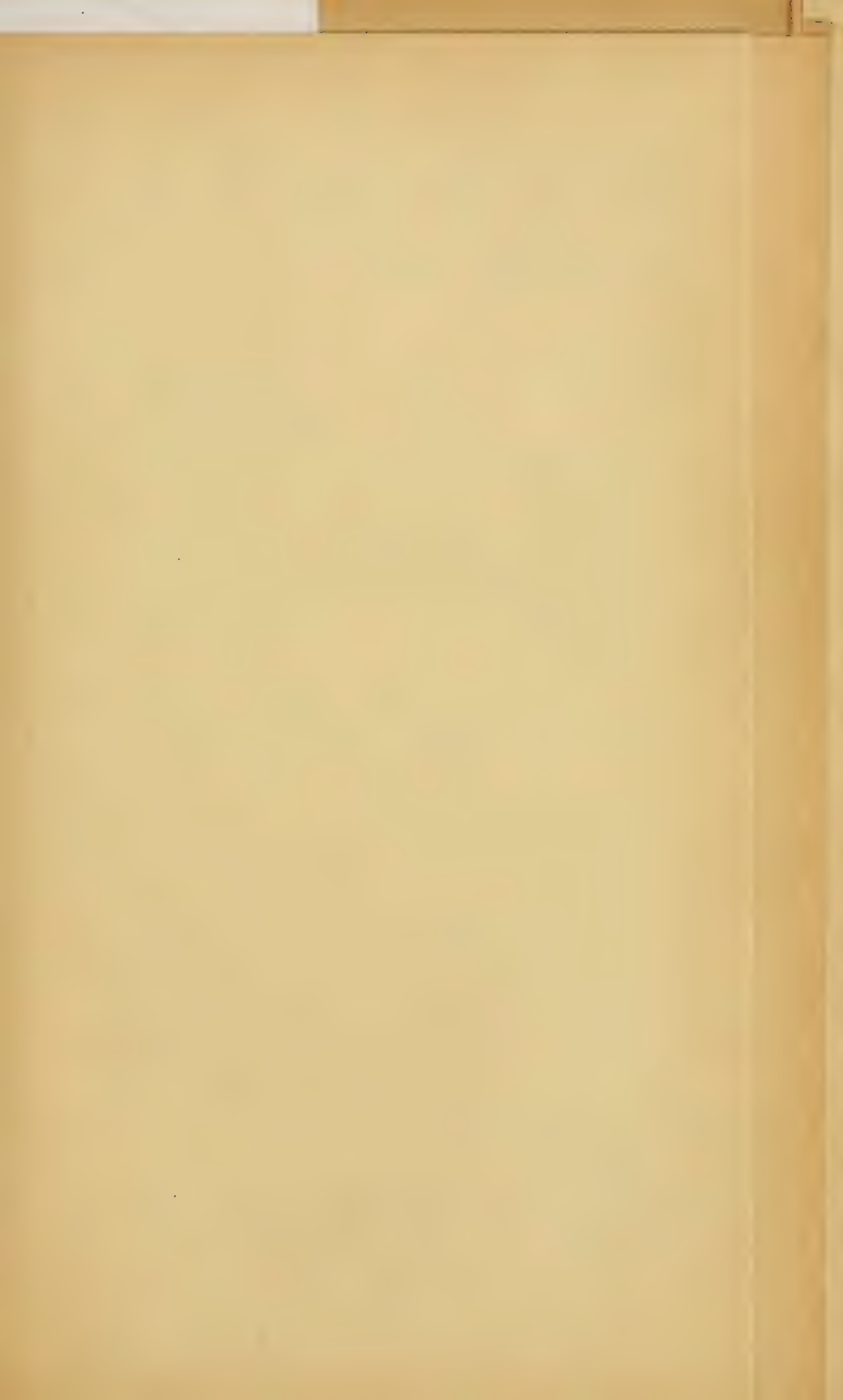
Österbygd 17, 28.

*ö* *ö* *ö*, vid. *o*.

## Misprints.

p.	9	l.	1	from below:	1903 . . . . .	read	1904
"	40	"	10	"	"	} Upernawik . . . . .	" Upernawik
"	40	"	15	"	"		
"	72	"	7	"	above:	af . . . . .	" of
"	139	"	3	"	"	<i>gerquaq</i> . . . . .	" <i>gerquaq</i>
"	153	"	14	"	below:	<i>arna'</i> . . . . .	" <i>arna'</i>
"	"	"	10	"	"	<i>is'ipaq</i> . . . . .	" <i>is'ipaq</i>
"	165	"	11	"	"	<i>kk &gt; k</i> . . . . .	" <i>kk &gt; k</i>
"	168	"	13	"	above:	<i>atsipa</i> . . . . .	" <i>atsipa'</i>
"	169	"	11	"	"	<i>uwe</i> . . . . .	" <i>uwa</i>
"	172	"	14	"	below:	29 . . . . .	" 19
"	173	"	5	"	"	promontary . . . . .	" promontory
"	176	"	1-2	"	"	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} 3-4 \\ 5-6 \\ 7 \end{array} \right\} \dots\dots\dots \left\{ \begin{array}{c} 29-30 \\ 31-32 \\ 33 \end{array} \right\}$	"
"	208	"	12	"	above:	<i>ut'uq</i> . . . . .	" <i>ut'uk</i>
"	"	"	13	"	"	<i>inut'aq</i> . . . . .	" <i>inut'ak</i>
"	240	"	9	"	"	[ <i>iq ir iς</i> ] . . . . .	" [ <i>iq ir ip</i> ]
"	298	"	13	"	"	ice-bedecked mountain	" iceberg





*v f* Danish *v* and *f* (somewhat more loosely articulated than in English) occur occasionally

*s* point and blade *s* (*ts, rs*) } unvoiced  
*ʃ* front *s*, aspirated }  
*h* (rare)

*u j*

*o* cf. French closed

*o* uvularized

*ɔ* uvularized

*ɔ̃* } advanced  
*õ* }

\* one dot over a advanced

\*\* two dots over a advanced (*õ*)

slight degree of nasalization: *q̃* *ɛ̃*

strong degree of nasalization: *ĩ* *q̃̃* *ã* *õ̃*

quantity: *a* long, *a* half long, *a* very long, *a* short

stress: *ˈa* relatively strong stress, *ˌa* relatively weak stress, *a* weak stress

pitch: *˘a* low pitch, *ˊa* medium pitch, *ˋa* high pitch

glottal stop

[ ] enclose the phonetically transcribed words; less conditions are given without brackets.

t'el'm'kam'it' in'el'et  
 ut' i'betutabategil  
 ajuyel'alakiguet  
 l'ina'k'afaralure'et  
 mal'ile'at'it' mal'ünagel'aka  
 ata' r'ea'ya' k'ifoma  
 al'ha' l'üj'agel'atia  
 a' t'ifom'et' 29  
 at'it' a'fat'it  
 t'ü'at'it' s'm'a' n'ü'lyama  
 i'ü'ü'ü'ü'ü'ü'ü'  
 i'ü'ü'ü'ü'ü'ü'ü'

## List of Consonants and Vowels.

<i>q</i>	uvular stopped consonant,	} unvoiced	<i>a</i>	cf. French âme
<i>k</i>	stopped consonants, closely re-		<i>â</i>	the same slightly advanced
<i>t</i>	sembling the corresponding		<i>ä</i>	the same greatly advanced
<i>p</i>	consonants in French: côte,		<i>a</i>	} uvularized <i>a</i> , <i>â</i> , <i>ä</i>
	ton, pas, — before a almost	<i>â</i>		
	like unvoiced <i>g</i> , <i>d</i> , <i>b</i> .	<i>ä</i>		
<i>ŋ</i>	uvular nasal consonant,	} voiced	<i>e</i>	cf. French été, in Greenl. higher
<i>ŋ</i>	back nasal		<i>ε</i>	mixed <i>e</i> (v. § 14)
<i>u</i>	front nasal		<i>e</i>	uvularized <i>e</i> , <i>ä</i> -like
<i>m</i>	lip nasal		<i>ē</i>	uvularized <i>e</i> , <i>e</i> -like
<i>r</i>	uvular fricative, the point of the	} usually voiced	<i>ë</i>	uvularized <i>e</i> , <i>ö</i> -like
	tongue passive		<i>i</i>	cf. French dire, fini
<i>g</i>	cf. Danish: bage ( <i>g</i> fricative)		<i>ι</i>	between <i>e</i> and <i>i</i>
<i>j</i>	cf. English: you		<i>ĩ?</i>	mid-tongue <i>i</i>
<i>l</i>	cf. French: lui	} usually voiced	<i>u</i>	cf. French tout, tour
<i>w</i>	bilabial, without protruded lips		<i>ũ</i>	cf. French tu, in Greenl. more mixed
<i>ρ</i>	} strongly aspirated frica-		<i>υ</i>	between <i>o</i> and <i>u</i>
<i>χ</i>		tives which correspond	<i>ō</i>	} advanced <i>υ</i>
<i>λ</i>		to <i>r g l w</i>	<i>ō</i>	
<i>φ</i>			<i>o</i>	cf. French rose, in Greenl. more
<i>v</i>	Danish <i>v</i> and <i>f</i> (somewhat more	} unvoiced		closed
<i>f</i>	loosely articulated than in English)		<i>o</i>	uvularized <i>o</i> strongly closed
<i>s</i>	point and blade <i>s</i> ( <i>ts</i> , <i>rs</i> )		<i>ο</i>	uvularized open <i>o</i>
<i>ç</i>	front <i>s</i> , aspirated		<i>ō</i>	} advanced <i>ο</i> (somewhat <i>ö</i> -like)
<i>h</i>	(rare)		<i>ō</i>	

\* one dot over a vowel indicates that it is slightly advanced

\*\* two dots over a vowel indicates that it is greatly advanced (*ĩ* retired)

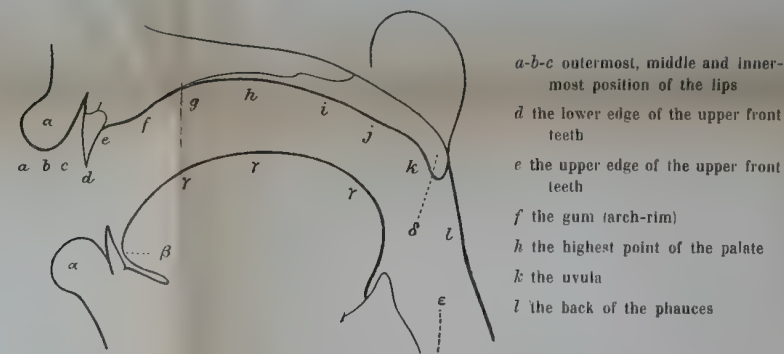
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\*\* two dots over a vowel indicates that it is greatly advanced (*ĩ* retired)

- slight degree of nasalization: *q* *ε*
- strong degree of nasalization: *ĩ* *g̃* *ä̃* *ō̃*
- quantity: *a* long, *a* half long, *a* very long, *a* short
- stress: *¹a* relatively strong stress, *²a* relatively weaker stress, *³a* very strong stress, *a* weak stress
- pitch: *¹a* low pitch, *²a* medium pitch, *³a* high pitch (relatively determined)
- glottal stop
- [ ] enclose the phonetically transcribed words; less delicately shaded transcriptions are given without brackets.

## The Analphabetical System

according to O. Jespersen: The Articulations of Speech Sounds, Marburg 1889, as modified in the same author's Fonetik, Copenhagen 1897—99 (Lehrbuch der Phonetik 1904). The figure in the main according to F. Techmer.



The organs of articulation are:

<i>α</i> lips:	<i>α0</i> lip closure	<i>α1</i> groove (as in <i>re</i> )	<i>α3</i> , 5, 7 rounded vowel-positions of lips
		<i>α2</i> slit (bilabial <i>v</i> )	<i>α4</i> , 6, 8 unrounded vowel-positions of lips
<i>β</i> point of the tongue:	<i>β0</i> closure against the teeth or just behind them	<i>β1</i> groove (as in <i>s</i> )	<i>β2</i> slit (Eng. <i>th</i> )
<i>γ</i> surface of the tongue:	<i>γ0</i> closure against the palate	<i>γ1</i> groove (Eng. <i>sh</i> )	<i>γ2</i> slit ( <i>y</i> in Eng. <i>you</i> )
<i>δ</i> soft palate	<i>δ0</i> closure of the soft palate against the back of the pharynx	<i>δ1</i> slight nasalization	<i>δ2</i> normal nasalization
<i>ε</i> vocal chords:	<i>ε0</i> closure	<i>ε1</i> voice position	<i>ε2</i> position for [ <i>k</i> ] etc.
<i>ζ</i> lungs:	<i>ζ0</i> pause	<i>ζ1</i> weak stress, <i>ζ2</i> strong stress, <i>ζ3</i> and <i>ζ4</i> two degrees of medium stress.	<i>ζ5</i> breath [ <i>χ</i> ] etc.

With respect to the employment of the system, notice:

- αβγ* uneven numbers = groove-like articulations; even numbers = slit-like articulations; 0 = closure
- α1* 2 (read: one, two) = lip position nearer 1 than 2 (i. e. rather narrow groove than slit). *α4* 2 (read: four, two) = lip position nearer 4 than 2
- α0<sup>b</sup>* = lip closure nearer the point *b* than *c* *α0<sup>c</sup>* = lip closure nearer *c* than *b*
- English [*d*] alphabetically: *β0<sup>f</sup>* *δ0* *ε1*, [*t*]: *β0<sup>f</sup>* *δ0* *ε2*, [*n*]: *β0<sup>f</sup>* *δ2* *ε1*
- [*z*] in French *dire*, *fini* = *α4<sup>c</sup>* *γ3<sup>s</sup>* [*u*] in French *tour*, *tout* = *α3<sup>a</sup>* *γ3<sup>j</sup>*
- [*u*] in English *put* = *α3<sup>ab</sup>* or *35<sup>ab</sup>* *γ4<sup>i</sup>* [*o*] in French *rose* = *α5<sup>ab</sup>* *γ5<sup>j</sup>*

If we let *z* stand for any exponent, the signs are thus employed:

- β0<sup>z</sup>* = closure with the point of the tongue itself (*z*)
- β0<sup>z</sup>* = closure with the blade of the tongue (*β1<sup>z</sup>* = Eng. [*s*])
- γ0<sup>z</sup>* = closure produced by that part of the surface of tongue which most naturally articulates against the respective point of the palate, varying according to the different exponents (*γ0<sup>1</sup>* or *1* = *k* etc.)
- γ0<sup>z</sup>* = closure produced by a part of the surface of the tongue lying a little farther back















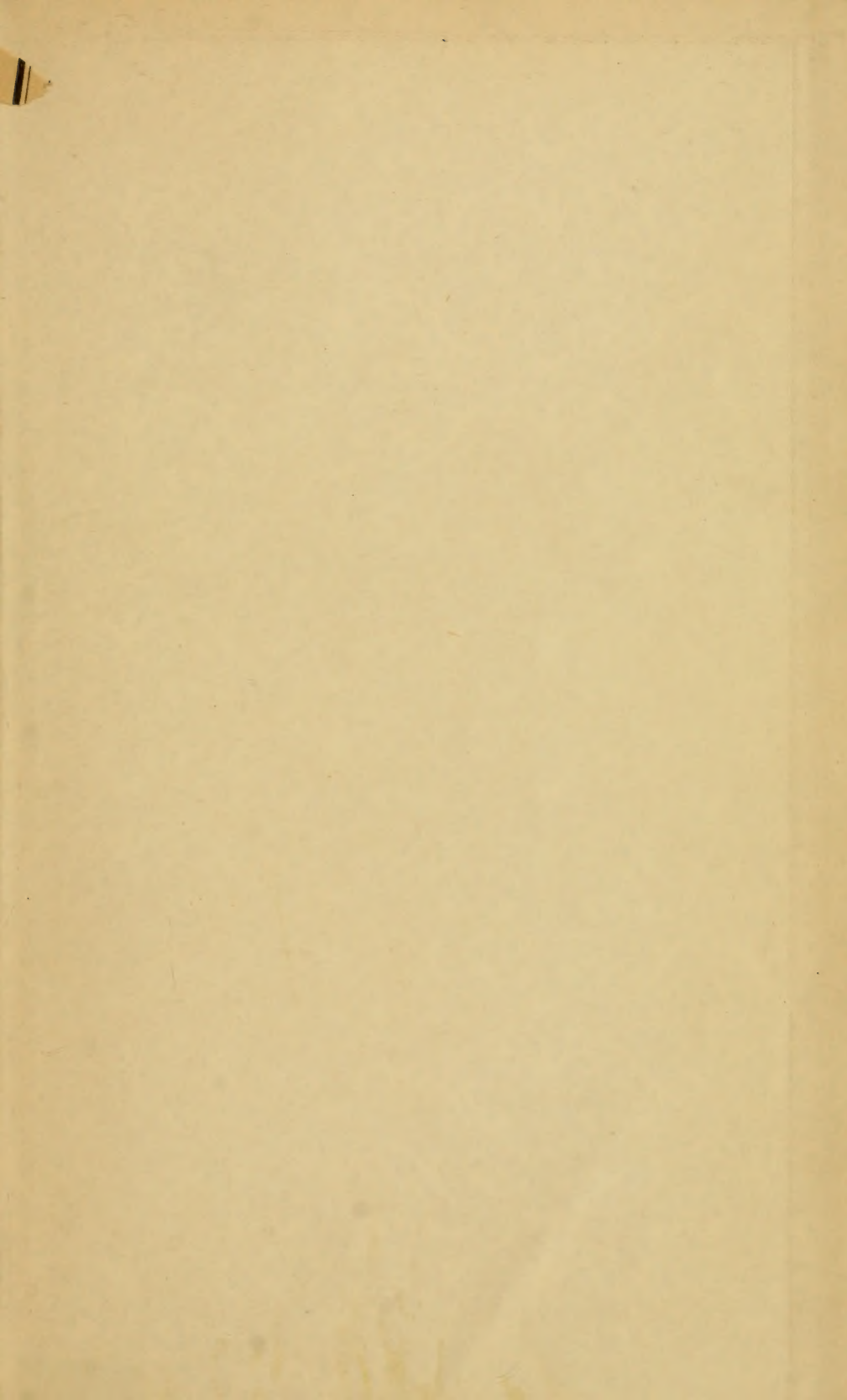




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